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THE LIFE

OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE CONSORT

VOL. IV.

The Prince Consort and the Queen.

1860.

Engraved by J. Hall from an enlarged Photograph by Mrs Bray

THE LIFE

OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE CONSORT

BY

THEODORE MARTIN

24147

WITH PORTRAITS

VOLUME THE FOURTH

THIRD EDITION

LONDON
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TO

THE QUEEN'S

MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MADAM,

I have the honour to place in Your Majesty's hands another instalment of the Life of the Prince Consort—another, but still not, as I hoped it might have been, the last.

From the moment it became necessary to go into the history of Your Majesty's reign, in order to enable the world to form an estimate of what the Prince was in himself, and of what he did for England, the compass of my task ceased to be within my control. It could be regulated only by the importance of the events to be discussed, and by the amount of detailed explanation necessary to make them fully understood. I was in the position of one, who, in climbing some great mountain, finds steep emerging upon steep before him, when he thinks he has neared, or even gained the summit. New incidents arose, unexpected fields of action disclosed themselves, which baffled my calculations, and compelled me to abandon my intention of concluding my work within the present volume.

I cannot regret this result, when I consider how much light the materials at my disposal have enabled me to throw, in the present volume, not merely upon the Prince's character,

but also upon the history both of Your Majesty's reign, and of Europe, during the years with which it deals. If the life of Your Majesty during these years is also depicted there with some fulness of detail, this could not be avoided, as in all matters, public as well as private, it was inseparably interwoven with that of the Prince. The times were full of difficulty. But as difficulties arose, the Prince's powers seemed always to expand; and it has been my duty to show, what inestimable assistance his knowledge and sagacity rendered to Your Majesty in the fulfilment of those great duties of State, of which the world generally knows so little, but the grave anxieties of which this volume will enable it in some degree to appreciate. How much Your Majesty has lost,—and not Your Majesty only, but the nation also,—in losing such a counsellor in times of public trial or peril, will henceforth be understood in a way it could not possibly have been, had I attempted to conclude the story of the Prince's Life within the present volume.

Two years alone remain to be treated of that life, so brilliant, so crowded, so animated by noble energy, yet dominated by such 'sublime repression of himself.' In the humble hope that I may be enabled within a few months to complete the record of those years,

I have the honour to remain,

MADAM,

Your Majesty's devoted

Subject and Servant,

THEODORE MARTIN.

31 ONSLOW SQUARE:
13th March, 1879.

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THE LIFE

OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE CONSORT.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

'I AM long persuaded,' says Milton, in his *Letter on Education*, 'that to say or do aught worth memory or imitation, no purpose should sooner move us than simply the love of God and of mankind.' In this spirit the Prince Consort lived and acted. A rule good for all men he felt was especially incumbent on him, placed as he was in a position where his influence and example, whether for good or evil, must of necessity be greater than those of ordinary men. In a letter written in December 1847 we find him saying, in reference to having had his conduct in certain matters misunderstood: 'I must console myself with the consciousness that from my heart I mean well towards all men, have never done them aught but good, and take my stand on truth and reason,[1]

[1] In a letter (17th January, 1862) to the late Sir Arthur Helps from the late Sir Charles Phipps, whose official position as Privy Purse brought him into contact with the Prince for many hours daily, he writes: 'The principle of *right* was so firmly and immovably rooted in the Prince, and its influence was so ever present in his every thought, that I am quite sure he never spoke or answered a question without having made instantaneous reference in his thoughts to this principle. His every word, his every act was but a portion of one great resolution to do what was *right*, and to endeavour to do it with the greatest possible kindness and tenderness to others. To hear of a good

the worship of which becomes daily more and more a matter of conscience with me.' But his was no cold worship of truth and reason in the abstract. Their value for him lay in their application to human beings, to the intricacies and perplexities of human life, and to the social wants and problems of the times in which we live.

Such being his principle of life, no question was indifferent to him, whether great or small, in which the happiness or well-being of his fellow-men was involved. He would turn aside at any time from the discussion of the most intricate question of European policy to deal with a case of personal hardship, or with any scheme for abolishing an abuse or bettering the condition of any section of Her Majesty's subjects. The same faculty of looking not only all round a subject, but also far ahead into remote consequences, which distinguished his political speculations, was applied to every subject to which his attention was directed. Considerations which had escaped the attention even of those whose business it was to deal with the matters which they brought under his notice, or who had made a special study of the subject on which they sought his opinion, presented themselves as if by intuition to his mind. And always, as we learn from those whose daily intercourse with him furnished them with the best means of observation, the fairness, the thoughtfulness for others, which pervaded all his suggestions, where the interests either of single individuals or of classes were involved, were peculiarly conspicuous.

At the same time, his mind, which has been by some called un-English, had at least the peculiarly English quality of being practical. Whether a reform was well-timed, and how it would work, was always his prominent thought, and in the means to be adopted for effecting it, he was careful to keep

action in anybody, from a young child up to a great statesman, was a positive enjoyment to him—a joy which was visibly seen in his countenance.'

in view English ways and even prejudices of thinking. His gifts in this respect were very early found out by those who met him in deliberation, and they had good reason to acknowledge that his timely forethought in council had smoothed the way where difficulties unforeseen and unprovided for might otherwise have defeated the most excellent intentions.

Thus it was that the things 'worth memory and imitation' which were done by the Prince were numerous and widely spread, and have left an inheritance of good in many quarters, especially in those where there is little to cheer the toil of a pinched and struggling life. As one among many instances may be cited the case of the ballast-heavers of the Port of London. It cannot be presented more truthfully than in their own words, in a Memorial presented to the Queen in June 1863, in which they acknowledged that to the Prince 'we owed eight years' contented life in our hard labour, after a long time of misery from which he relieved us.'

'Before he came to our rescue, we could only get work through a body of riverside publicans and middlemen, who made us drink before they would give us a job, made us drink while at it, and kept us waiting for our wages and drinking after we had done our work, so that we could only take half our wages home to our families, and that half often reached them, too, through a drunkard's hands. The consequence was that we were in a pitiable state; this truck-drinking system was ruining us, body and soul, and our families too.

'Your Majesty, we tried hard to get out of this accursed system; we appealed to men of all classes, and opened an office ourselves; but we got no real help till we sent an appeal to your late Royal Consort on his election to the Mastership of the Trinity House. He at once listened to us. Your Majesty, he loved the wife of his own bosom, and he loved the children of his love; he could put himself down from the throne he shared to the wretched home of us poor men, and could feel what we and our wives and children were suffering from the terrible truck-drinking system that had dragged us into the mire. He inquired

himself into the evils that oppressed us; he resolved that, if he could release us from our bonds, he would; he saw the President of the Board of Trade (the Right Hon. E. Cardwell) about us, and with his counsel a clause was put into the Merchant Shipping Act, 1853, which placed us under the control of the Corporation of the Trinity House.

'At once our wrongs were redressed, and the system that had ruined us swept away. The good Prince and the Brethren whom he led framed rules for our employment, which secured us a fair wage for our very hard toil; they let us take it home to our families unclipt; they gave us a room to wait in for our work, and supplied it with papers and books; they encouraged us to form a Sick Benefit Society, and in every way strove to promote our welfare. Your Majesty may well imagine what a change this was to us; from the publicans and grasping middlemen seeking our money at the cost of our lives, to Albert the Good and his generous Brethren, desiring only our good! At one dead lift they raised us from the drunkard's life, and the drunkard's fate, to the comfort and respectability of the fairly paid, hard-toiling English working man.'

The Memorialists go on to inform the Queen, that they 'celebrate their deliverance by an annual treat' on Her Majesty's birthday, and that they 'then think with special gratitude of their deliverer.' We should like, they add, to 'have a representation of him in the room that he and the Brethren gave us; we should like to see his kind and earnest face looking on us as we daily partake of the boon he has secured us;' and they ask for a framed engraving of the Prince, 'as a remembrance of our benefactor, and as a reminder that we, in our humble way, should strive to be, as husbands, fathers, and men, what he was.' The request was at once granted, and the gift made more precious by the words that accompanied it, which told that of all the tokens of sympathy submitted to the Queen in her grief, 'no one was more in harmony with her feelings than the simple and unpretending tribute from these honest hard-working men.'

Himself the most hard-working of men, it was to the state of those who do the bulk of the hard and ungenial work of the world under conditions little favourable to their welfare, spiritual or bodily, that the thoughts of the Prince were most constantly directed. He early saw that the rapid overgrowth of our great cities, where the want of home comforts and of wholesome recreation for the labouring classes was rapidly developing vice, disease, and discontent to an alarming extent, was a problem which, if not effectively dealt with, must in the end become fatal to the habits and physical development of the people, and even dangerous to the State. The magnitude of the difficulties which surrounded this subject was not with him, as it is with many, a reason for doing nothing. He was among the first to show what could be effected in the way of improving the dwellings of the working-classes, not only upon the Royal estates at Osborne and Balmoral, but to call general attention to the subject by model lodging-houses in the metropolis itself. It was his conviction that, under a proper system, these would pay, and indeed that they must be made to pay, otherwise no permanent improvement could be established anywhere, and still less could any wide measure of progressive amelioration be hoped for. On mere philanthropy the Prince was not disposed to lean; but he believed that a mighty change would be initiated, if men of kind hearts and sound business heads could be persuaded to invest their capital in providing on reasonable terms homes for the sons of labour, in which the decencies, at least, and the main comforts of domestic life might be within their reach. His views on this subject, regarded at first as somewhat Utopian, have since become accepted truisms. Many of the great employers of labour throughout the country have proved to their own satisfaction the Prince's favourite axiom, that the capital sunk in good houses for those who work for them would prove an excellent

investment in itself, while at the same time it secured them better workmen and better work. And the success which has attended the building of houses for the working-classes in London and other large cities gives a reasonable hope that the evils of overcrowding and of the want of sanitary arrangements are being in some degree arrested, and may ultimately be reduced to manageable proportions.

Another subject of the greatest interest to the Prince was the every-day amusements of the people. That in this country these are too often of a debasing kind is obviously less the fault of the people themselves than of the fact that they are driven to seek in the public-house and the tavern the light, the warmth, the companionship, and the recreation which are not readily to be found elsewhere. How to enable the labourer to dispose of his leisure pleasantly and rationally is a problem of which even now people generally are little more than beginning to seek the solution. Mechanics' Institutes, reading-rooms, and public libraries go but a small way to meet the exigencies of the case, and these indeed are only possible in the great centres of population. Something of a much simpler kind the Prince felt to be required; some place where the cheerfulness of the public-house could be provided without its drawbacks. The idea has recently been developed into those Working-Men's Clubs and Coffee Palaces which have been established in many quarters with excellent effect. But so far back as 1857 the idea had been started, and advocated by several philanthropically-minded men. Among others, Mr. John M. Clabon had advocated the formation of houses of this description in a series of pamphlets, calling for 'more sympathy between rich and poor.' One of these, entitled *Leisure-Houses for the Labourer*, had been brought to the Prince's notice, and he granted an interview for the purpose of discussing the subject with the author, who, fully aware of the interest all topics of the kind had for

the Prince, was at the same time most anxious to have the advantage of that peculiarly practical judgment, of which the public had already had signal experience in matters of a kindred description. A graphic record of this interview has been preserved in a letter written by Mr. Clabon the same evening (23rd November, 1856), from which we are enabled to give the following extracts. The meeting took place at Windsor Castle in the room of Colonel, afterwards General, Grey, the Prince's secretary:—

'We found Colonel Grey alone—a *little* room, business-like, with a large office-table and directories, and so on—everything very comfortable and handsome. Colonel Grey sent to let the Prince know we were there. After a few sentences of general conversation with Lord Torrington, Colonel Grey got out my pamphlet and we began to talk about it. Presently the Prince was announced. I was introduced; he made his way past me and Colonel Grey, shook hands with Lord Torrington, and established himself with his back to the fire and hands behind him in true English fashion, we three standing before him.

'I opened the talk by saying that I felt it a great honour to be permitted to address his Royal Highness on the subject of my pamphlet; that, admitting that Mechanics' Institutes did much good, it was to the middle classes, and that I thought the two great mistakes which had been made were that we thought too much of educating the adult poor, whereas we should begin with amusement, and, having tempted them by that, introduce instruction by classes, lectures, and so on very gradually, and that the poor were not sufficiently consulted, were kept too much at a distance. The Prince said he had read my pamphlet, that it was important to consider the rules of political economy, that any departure from them would tend towards failure, that these rules required the *commercial principle* to be introduced, that the institution must be self-supporting, and that in fact people of good character must be persuaded to open such a home as I had described, with a licence from the magistrates, and to conduct it so as to make it remunerative. I thanked him for the suggestion, and said that I appreciated its value.

'The Prince then said it should be a reformed public-house.

He quite agreed that there should be smoking, but did not agree that it need be in a separate room. He said, that it was important that *the wife and family should come there*, as well as the labourer himself. The women of England were excellent wives and mothers. Now they had to do their best to keep their husbands from the public-house; with such an institution they might encourage them to go there and go with them. As to the mingling of class with class, he said that he doubted whether it could be carried out. The lower classes would always feel a restraint in the presence of the higher classes.

'I said, that in the institution which I hoped to found on Surbiton Hill near my place of residence, I meant to call the poor together in the first instance and consult them as to the whole thing, and do all I could to obtain their confidence—that I had had some experience in mixing with the poor, and thought I could succeed in obtaining their confidence—that I did not propose a general mixing of class with class—but that I and two or three others of the same views should look in now and then in the evening and talk to the people on equal terms, asking John about his foot and Mary about her child and so on—that if I had succeeded in getting their confidence my presence for a short time now and then would not abash them.

'The Prince then asked what I would do on Sunday. I said I had not considered that part of the question. He said, it must be open. I said, yes, it should be open, no game being carried on, and an attempt made to improve the day in some way, but without giving the institution the character of a chapel. I mentioned the reading-room on Surbiton Hill, and that the curate preached there once a week, and the poor kept away from it and called it a chapel. Lord Torrington said something on the Sunday question, advocating rational amusement on that day. The Prince said a few words, but not indicating directly his approval of what Lord Torrington had said. I then said, that I did not wish any clergyman to take a lead in the management, that, if he took any part, it must be only as an individual, and that the Dissenting minister should equally be admissible. There was to be no distinction of creed, every one was to be free to come. The Prince agreed.

'Returning to the commercial question, the Prince said that as the building of lodging-houses for the labourer had led to the

reform of other lodging-houses, so the establishment of leisure-houses might lead to the reform of the public-houses. Lord Torrington said it would be a sort of club-house for the poor. The Prince said that the first leisure-house had better not be in too public a place, that the experiment had better be made quietly and the public be made acquainted with the results according to the success realised. The site must be in the middle of the cottages, the poor man would not go far to it. I said that was one of my principles. There was a momentary break, and I asked whether his Royal Highness had observed that I proposed to have an occasional dance. He had. I said that our labouring population were far behind those of other countries in polish, and I thought an attempt might be made to introduce dancing. He agreed, but doubted whether they would enjoy it or enter upon it with spirit, unless they had something to drink. I said let them have tea, coffee, and lemonade. He said that in Scotland they were fond of dancing, but wanted to have whisky—that at Osborne there was an entertainment to all persons employed there and the household once a year, generally on his, the Prince's birthday—that last year one or two had too much, and that this year the beer given was not therefore so strong, and there was dissatisfaction; they did not seem to enter into the dancing with spirit. But he agreed, that spirituous liquors must be excluded.

'Lord Torrington asked what his Royal Highness thought of the name. He considered a little, and said he thought it was a good one. I said I had been thinking of a name all the vacation, that it would not do to give a name indicative of mere amusement, when it was desired to engraft instruction. Colonel Grey just then said something to Lord Torrington, and I caught the word *pleasure* (Lord Torrington afterwards told me he was saying it *sotto voce* as a joke). And I said no, pleasure-house won't do, it would give the idea of nothing but pleasure, and might be taken to include pleasure of a debasing kind. There was another break of a moment, and I said that as my views were at present founded on theory to some extent, the first institution must be an experiment—that we could not hope to attain perfection at once—and that on many points improvements would be made as the matter progressed. The Prince agreed. I then (after about from fifteen to twenty minutes' conversation)

saw it was time to go, and I begged permission of the Prince to submit to him a statement of progress made and results, whereupon he said that he should be most happy to receive them. He shook hands again with Lord Torrington, and we made our exit.

'The Prince's English is not perfect; he speaks with a decidedly foreign accent, and once or twice he hesitated for a word. Lord Torrington said this was unusual, that he was generally very fluent, and that he was a little nervous at seeing a stranger, as he generally is. I felt nervous at first, but the Prince's demeanour on his first entry put me at once at my ease.'

The writer of this letter left the room with the conviction that the Prince knew more about his own pet hobby, and about the people at whose good he was aiming, than he did himself. This was by no means an exceptional case. The Prince trifled with no topic. It was either left untouched, or thoroughly studied. A fact or a principle once grasped seems to have been stored up, so as always to have been within easy reach, and this habit of his mind, applied to the unusually wide range of subjects which engaged his attention, not only made his conversation delightful and instructive to his friends, but created a profound impression upon those with whom he was brought into casual contact. 'Whether he spoke to a painter,' Sir Charles Phipps writes in the letter already quoted, 'a sculptor, an architect, a man of science, or an ordinary tradesman, they would each think that the speciality of the Prince's mind was his own particular pursuit. I remember a great glass manufacturer coming to see him at the Palace with regard to some chandeliers; and, after a conversation of half an hour, when the Prince left the room, the man said, "That is wonderful; he knows more about glass than I do!" And he added, I well remember, for the speech went to my heart, "That is a man one cannot *like*, one must *love* him." And with all this knowledge of detail,' Sir Charles Phipps adds, 'the great

characteristic of his mind was that it had nothing *little* in it, for all these minute points were only parts of a great whole which he kept constantly in view.'

It was characteristic of a mind about which there was nothing little, that no one ever listened more patiently than the Prince to the opinions of other men, or conducted a discussion with greater fairness or with a keener enjoyment of a frank statement of the speaker's views, even when they differed from his own. In questions of politics, science, literature, or art, he set the example of the fair give-and-take of genial discussion—'gladly would he learn, and gladly teach' —ready to be convinced, but yielding only upon conviction. Of him might be said what Dr. Johnson says of Pope: 'He consulted his friends and listened with great willingness to criticism, and, what was of more importance, he consulted himself, and let nothing pass against his own judgment.'

This quality of mind was necessarily put to severe proof in the duties which devolved upon the Prince as the head of a great household, to whom constant appeals had to be made on every kind of subject. Endowed as he was with a rare power of abstraction, he never resented the interruptions of which most men would be impatient. He might be studying some proposed Government measure, some intricate report, some despatch bearing intelligence of momentous import, or writing, it may be, one of those closely reasoned Memorandums which we have so often had occasion to cite. But if any of the leading officers of his household entered his room on business, he would look up with a smile, insist on his remaining, go fully into the business of the moment, perhaps glance off into the discussion of some topic of the day, and, dismissing him with a pleasant remark, resume at once his previous occupation as if it had never been interrupted. In his household, therefore, to cite the words of the late Sir Thomas Biddulph, then Master of the Queen's

Household, 'his kindly spirit and courteous bearing, united to the exercise of strong practical sense on every detail, created an universal feeling of respect and affection, and of anxiety to carry out his wishes, from the conviction that what he directed was generally right; and, although his view of the case might not be the same as yours, still he listened so patiently to your objections, and so clearly explained his reasons for disagreeing, that it was impossible, even if you were not quite convinced, not to wish to carry into effect what was put before you so forcibly and yet so pleasantly.'[2]

Some other traits noted by Sir Charles Phipps in his letter already quoted are interesting and significant. Referring to the Prince's watchfulness over the welfare of the lower orders, he says: 'It was almost a parental care. His manner was perfect with them, for though naturally shy, he had not a particle of pride in him—how much misunderstood! He maintained his position, as he did everything else, as a duty, but not from any pride in his high station; quite the contrary, nobody knew its disadvantages better. If there was honesty and some intellect in him, he would quite as willingly and as openly talk with a tradesman or a labourer as with a man of the highest rank, and I have known him spend his valuable time, overloaded with important objects, in looking over the copybooks of his Windsor labourers, and in watching and approving their small progress.'

What the Prince was when canvassing a topic with the humblest, in the absence of anything like constraint or dog-

[2] Since this chapter has been in print, Sir Thomas Biddulph, from whom the writer learned many characteristic traits of the Prince Consort, has died (28th Sept. 1878). He was the last survivor of the three very able men,—Sir Charles Phipps and General Charles Grey being the other two,—who had been intimately associated with the Prince from their position as leading members of Her Majesty's Household, and who continued to serve their Royal mistress with generous devotion, until one by one they followed 'beyond the shadow of our night' the Prince, whom they loved so well.

matism, or an air of condescension, such he was in his intercourse with men the most eminent in scholarship or science. 'I shall never forget,' Dr. Acland writes to the Queen (2nd March, 1875), 'his kindness,' in discussing the importance of developing scientific studies at Oxford, 'the first time I conversed with him alone in good Sir Charles Phipps's room. But then indeed I did not learn the width and force and gentleness of his thoughts as several years after, when alone with him for nearly two hours on board the *Victoria and Albert* on the way to Plymouth in 1860. I have often had to say, that of all the conversations ever vouchsafed me with persons of intellectual culture, that one concerning education, religious and scientific thought, gave me the highest idea of the outpouring of wide and noble sympathy combined with opportunity and high training.'

This blended wisdom of the heart and head it was which guided all the Prince's efforts for the instruction and the good of the people. In what he did, for example, to call their attention to Art as a means of education, his great endeavour was to engage their interest in it, not merely for purposes of amusement, but in its relations to the history of the nations and the periods where its best illustrations were to be found, and to the handicrafts and manufactures which it had been and might be employed to elevate and improve. To restore the pride of the workman in the product of his hands, and to strip toil of half its irksomeness by emancipating it from the monotony of merely mechanical work, was one of his cherished aims. Where the nature of the employment precluded the exercise of individual skill or taste, he would at least have had every workman understand the principle and appreciate the subtle ingenuity of the machines amid which his life was spent, so that he might find in the 'cold metallic motion' of their iron wheels something more than the ceaseless throb or drone of a lifeless unsympathetic

force of which he seemed to be the slave. The intelligence quickened in one direction might be trusted to seek further knowledge elsewhere; at any rate, it was well to place the means of doing so within easy reach, and in the most effective shape. Accordingly, all the Prince's schemes for Museums of Science and Art were devised with the view of putting the working-classes in as favourable a position as the rich for seeing for themselves what science and art had achieved, and the steps by which they had advanced to their present state. At the root of all his efforts in this direction the idea lay which has been finely expressed by Dr. Johnson: 'Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses,—whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the scale of human beings.'

That the arrangement of Museums of Art as well as of Science should be such as to afford the means of methodical study was a point on which the Prince justly laid the greatest stress. He applied this principle to the national art collections with results for which the students of art must always be grateful. In 1853 he caused his private secretary to address a letter to Colonel Mure, the Chairman of the National Gallery Committee, enclosing a plan for a national collection of paintings, which should be illustrative of the history of the art, to be 'arranged so as to afford the best means of instruction and education in the art to those who wish to study it scientifically in its history and progress.' This suggestion was first followed in the arrangement of the pictures of the Italian school by Sir Charles Eastlake, and of those of the German and other schools by Mr. Wornum, and it has since been adopted as the guiding principle in the acquisition and arrangement of pictures for the National Gallery. So also in the case of the pictures at Hampton Court; it was under the direction of the Prince that the Crown Surveyor of Pictures attached to every picture a legible

label, with the name and dates of the birth and death of the painter. What the Prince did in the way of simplifying the study of art in our public galleries has been acknowledged by Mr. George Scharf, in his *Essay on the Royal Picture-Galleries*:[3] 'All the pictures,' says this most competent authority, 'are now in the course of a better system of arrangement. These changes are the result of a thoroughly matured scheme laid down by the late Prince Consort, and it may indeed be said that all the good now performed in respect to our national collections of art is but a realisation of his wise and beneficent intentions.'

We are learning,—slowly, it is true,—to profit by these changes in a greater appreciation of what goes to produce a picture of abiding interest and charm. Criticism is becoming more intelligent, and people are less at the mercy of the caprices of individual liking, or the fantastic theories of the votaries of new schools. Of the modesty which comes with knowledge, and which in all matters of art it is the duty of lookers-on especially to cultivate, the Prince was an instructive example. He laid down for himself a rule which may be pondered with advantage by that growing class of amateurs who are vain of display, and who force comparison of their sketchy and imperfect efforts with that thorough workmanship, the product of genius matured by earnest study, which alone deserves to be regarded as art. What that rule was, we gather from some words of his to Lady Bloomfield, one day at dinner at Windsor Castle (20th December, 1860). 'I consider,' he said,' that persons in our position of life can never be distinguished artists. It takes the study of a whole life to become that, and we have too many other duties to perform to give the time necessary to any one particular branch of art. Our business is not so much to create, as to learn to appreciate and understand the works of others, and we can

[3] *Old London*, 1867, p. 376.

never do this till we have realised the difficulties to be overcome. Acting on this principle myself, I have always tried to learn the rudiments of art as much as possible. For instance, I learnt oil-painting, water-colours, etching, lithography, &c. &c., and in music I learnt thorough bass, the pianoforte, organ, and singing,—not, of course, with a view of doing anything worth looking at or hearing, but simply to enable me to judge and appreciate the works of others.'[4]

But we must leave these general considerations to resume the story of the Prince's life, as interwoven with that of the country in whose progress and welfare he took an ever-wakeful interest.

[4] Extract from a letter (25th January, 1878) from Lady Bloomfield to the Dowager Marchioness of Ely.

CHAPTER LXXV.

PARLIAMENT was opened by Commission on the 3rd of February. The Ministry were strong in the popularity naturally due to having brought the war to what was believed to be an honourable and successful close. The nation had reason to be satisfied with the way the difficulties and disasters had been met and conquered, which for a time had seemed to shake the faith of other countries in the warlike genius and resources of England. Trade and commerce were reviving, so that the Queen, in her Speech, was able to say with truth that, notwithstanding the great sacrifices attendant upon the war, 'the resources of the country remained unimpaired, and its productive industry unchecked in its course of progressive development.' Political agitation was also in abeyance; but it was obvious, even if strong indications had not been given in the press and elsewhere, that a material reduction in taxation would be the subject on which the Ministry would be severely pressed by every section of the Opposition. Under the subsisting law the Income Tax had been fixed at sixteenpence in the pound for the current year, and at fivepence for each of the two following years. However necessary it might be for the efficient defence of the country that no considerable reduction in the Army and Navy Estimates should be suddenly made, still it was only by such reductions that the Ministry could bring down the figures of their Budget to a point likely to satisfy the country. Accordingly, the Cabinet had resolved in the course of January on reducing

both the naval and military forces greatly below the level to which they had been raised during the Crimean War.

It was no doubt true that they had at the moment two wars upon their hands, but for these the ordinary resources of our forces were amply sufficient. One of these was with Persia, which had set up a claim to sovereignty over the territory and city of Herat and the suzerainty of Affghanistan, and, in defiance of engagements which she had undertaken to England in 1853, had advanced upon and taken possession of the city of Herat. The Shah had, however, already been made to feel the force of the adversary whom he had thus provoked, and he was soon afterwards glad to conclude a treaty with England (4th March, 1857), by which he renounced his pretensions, and bound himself to refer any future differences between Persia and the Affghan States to the friendly offices of the English Government. The other war, which was with China, was destined to assume a more serious aspect, and to affect the position of parties at home by leading to a dissolution of Parliament soon after it had met.

The Government would unquestionably have paused before proposing any reduction in the national forces, could they have foreseen how soon these were to be subjected to a serious strain by the Indian Mutiny, of which the first threatening symptoms were even then beginning to appear,[1] and which actually broke out at Berhampore on the 25th of February

[1] On the 23rd of January, 1857, Major-General Hearsay had informed the Indian Government that at Dumdum, near Calcutta, an uneasy feeling existed among the Sepoys, arising from a belief which had taken hold of them, that the grease used in the preparation of their cartridges was composed of a mixture of the fat of cows and pigs—to touch which with their mouths involved the loss of their caste. The existence of this belief among other regiments was soon afterwards ascertained, and led to the conclusion, that it had been fomented by intriguers from without, who skilfully worked on the minds of the Sepoys by suggesting a deliberate purpose of the English Government to make them lose their caste and to become Christians.

in this year. But they had at the time no occasion to anticipate any danger from this quarter. On the contrary, so settled to all appearance was India, that, only a year before, the late Governor-General (Lord Dalhousie), on laying down his office, had written to the Queen (29th February, 1856) that 'although no prudent man will ever venture to predict the certainty of continued peace in India, Lord Dalhousie is able to declare, without reservation, that he knows of no quarter in which it is probable that trouble will arise.' The despatches of his successor, Lord Canning, had confirmed this opinion; and India, as demanding an extra supply of British troops, did not therefore enter into the calculations of the Cabinet in maturing their financial measures for the coming Parliament.

It was not, however, without misgivings that the Queen and Prince learned that the costly fighting power, which had been built up with so much difficulty and at so much expense during the last two years, was to be cut down to proportions which would leave no margin to meet any sudden emergency. There were not wanting symptoms of the disquietude in Europe itself, which actually developed into the Italian War of 1859, and threatened disturbances in other quarters. Moreover, the security of a great empire like England, with its vast and coveted colonial possessions, they felt, was too important to be placed in peril by any undue parsimony in maintaining adequate means of resistance to encroachment or attack. Neither was the maximum of influence and power, to which England aspires, to be maintained upon a scale of expenditure, in which account was not taken of the growing resources of other nations, all of whom would be on the alert to profit by our weakness. But the cry against large warlike establishments has always been so popular in England, and statesmen of all parties have uniformly shown so decided a disposition to rely on the energies of her people

to find, when called on, the men and means to carry on a war, rather than to follow the rule of maintaining large permanent establishments, that Lord Palmerston and his Cabinet could not hope to carry the country with them except by large concessions in this direction. Besides, the nation had borne so uncomplainingly the heavily-increased taxation of the years of war—as experience has proved that it always will bear whatever a Government in which it trusts may demand to enable it to uphold the honour and the interests of the empire—that nothing short of demonstrable necessity would have justified the Ministry in refusing to stretch relief from taxation to the utmost limits of prudence.[2] Under the arrangements proposed, the Queen wrote (10th February) to King Leopold, 'We think we shall be able to reduce the Income Tax, and yet maintain an efficient navy and the organisation of the army, which is even more important than the number of men.'

The wisdom of this resolution, as the means of defeating

[2] In closing the debate on the Address, Lord Palmerston stated the true policy of this country with regard to its naval and military establishments with great force. 'Nobody,' he said, 'dreams of England having a great standing army on the scale of the great nations of the Continent. But our army must be more than a domestic police. We have colonies to strengthen, possessions to maintain; and you must bear in mind that peace, however long it may continue, is not merely dependent on ourselves, but on the conduct of other Powers, and you must look forward to having a force sufficient *at least to protect you in the outset from insult or attack. Depend upon it, for a country great and rich to leave itself without the means of defence is not a method to preserve peace in the long run.* That is why it is so important to utilise the experience which we have gained in the last war, to maintain the scientific establishments, and to keep up those portions of the army, which cannot be so easily raised as the recruits who perform the ordinary operations of a campaign. . . . . We have no interest in proposing to the House establishments greater than we really think necessary for the public service. We can have no desire to create difficulties for our own administration. There is every temptation to a Government to introduce proposals most likely to be adopted by the House; but, on the other hand, *it is the duty of a responsible Government, having determined the amount of army and navy which is essential for the safety and interest of the country, to present to Parliament the result of the conclusions at which they have arrived.*'

the attack of the Opposition, speedily became apparent. How was the Income Tax to be dealt with, was the question on every tongue; and such was the anxious expectation of the country, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer felt it necessary to satisfy it by making his financial statement within ten days after the meeting of Parliament. His proposition to reduce the Income Tax to sevenpence in the pound was felt by the majority of the House to be as much as the state of the revenue and the exigencies of the public service would admit. But the Government had nevertheless to encounter a formidable opposition, in which the Peelites were arrayed with the Protectionists against them; excessive expenditure on the naval and military forces, to maintain what was denounced by Mr. Disraeli as 'a turbulent and aggressive policy,' forming the principal object of attack. Upon the issue thus raised great division existed among the various parties in the House, for while Sir James Graham voted against the Government with Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Sidney Herbert and the leaders of the Manchester school, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Milner Gibson, supported Sir George Lewis's Budget, and it was finally approved by the decisive majority of eighty votes. In the course of these discussions much was said about a pledge expressed or implied, alleged to have been given in 1853, that the Income Tax should cease altogether in 1860, and Mr. Gladstone insisted that this pledge both might and ought to be fulfilled. But it appears to have been pretty generally felt that any pledge of this kind made for an uncertain future was idle, and that, pledge or no pledge, events might make it just as impossible to dispense with this tax, open to objection as in many respects it must always be, as it was necessary in the first instance to impose it.

The large majority which supported the Ministry on the Budget (23rd February) failed them a few nights afterwards,

when they found themselves in a minority of sixteen (247 to 263) on a motion by Mr. Cobden condemnatory of the proceedings of the Government in China. The Queen's Speech had stated that 'acts of violence, insults to the British flag, and infraction of treaty rights, committed by the local Chinese authority at Canton, and a pertinacious refusal of redress, had rendered it necessary for Her Majesty's officers in China to have recourse to measures of force to obtain satisfaction.' The relations between the English community and the local authorities of Canton had for some time been on a very uneasy footing, the Chinese showing a determination to abridge or even withhold the privileges which they had bound themselves by the Treaty of 1846 to grant. Any overt act on either side was therefore sure to lead to a collision. Accordingly, out of an affair which under other circumstances might have been settled by a little friendly diplomacy, a conflict arose which cost the Chinese population very dear, and resulted in another of those wars, which, although they have always in the end improved the commercial intercourse of England with China, have never been very popular at home, inflicting as they did great loss and misery upon a people innocent of the misdeeds of the rulers by which they were caused. A Chinese-built lorcha, called *The Arrow*, having a British register, and flying the British flag, had been boarded by a Chinese war-junk, and the crew carried off on a charge of piracy. The Chinese Commissioner Yeh refused to comply with a demand for satisfaction made by Sir John Bowring, the Governor of Hong Kong. Upon this the fleet under Admiral Sir Michael Seymour was put in motion to enforce reparation for the alleged outrage; and a demand was at the same time made for the free admission of foreigners to the port and city of Canton—a condition of the Treaty of 1846 which had hitherto been evaded.

The action of the Government had been challenged by

Lord Derby a few nights before in the House of Lords. After a two nights' debate, remarkable for the power with which the attack was conducted, Lord Derby's Resolutions were defeated by a majority of thirty-six. They were in effect the same as Mr. Cobden's in the other House, which asked it to affirm that 'the papers laid on the table failed to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to.' The fact that statesmen like Lords Derby, Lyndhurst, Grey, and Ellenborough had supported this proposition in the House of Lords, was not without its influence in the other House, where it was enforced with all the eloquence of men of such various political opinions as Mr. Gladstone, Lord John Russell, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Roebuck. The debate became one of confidence or no confidence in the Government. Meetings of the adherents of both parties were held during its progress. But it was easy to foresee that, even if the Ministry were defeated, their opponents could not hope to form a Government to take their place. The question at issue was one on which men could agree, who were wide apart on all matters of general policy. Even the Conservatives took different sides, and neither they nor the Peelites had any hold upon the country in its present temper. These facts must have been forgotten for the time in the exultation of a coming victory, when, in replying to Lord Palmerston at the close of the debate, Mr. Disraeli said: 'Let the noble lord, who complains that he is the victim of a conspiracy, not only complain to the country—let him appeal to it.'

The challenge was promptly accepted. The general support hitherto given to Government in the House of Commons, their majority on the Chinese question in the House of Lords, and the hold upon the country which they believed themselves—and, as the event proved, with good cause—to possess, were considered by Lord Palmerston to justify him in

making an appeal to the country instead of resigning. Accordingly, on the 5th of March he intimated this intention to the House of Commons, stating at the same time that the Government, instead of arranging certain taxes, including the Income Tax, for three years as they had proposed, would confine their scheme to one year, and dissolve Parliament as soon as the necessary votes could be taken for carrying on public affairs until the reassembling of Parliament. In the propriety of this course Mr. Disraeli concurred, remarking that it would be for the advantage of the country if members entertaining definite opinions should be returned. He raised no embarrassing question as to whether or not the Ministry were in the meantime to suspend all action in China in deference to the vote just come to by the House of Commons. Not so, however, Mr. Cobden, Lord John Russell, and the Peelite party. 'Was the war,' they asked, 'which had been condemned by the House to be carried on? Was Sir John Bowring, with whom their vote had declared the blame to lie, not to be recalled?' Lord Palmerston was not a man to be overawed by conclusions, however logically cogent, where high considerations of State policy dictated a clear line of action with which such conclusions were inconsistent. His answer to these challenges was, that the Government had for some time been concerting, in conjunction with France, and, as he trusted, with the United States, how best to improve the commercial relations with China through negotiations with the Court at Pekin. It would be a matter for grave deliberation what person should be charged with the task as the envoy of Great Britain.[3] But in the meantime the

[3] 'Where was the man,' says Mr. Theodore Walrond, 'who at a juncture so critical, in face of an adverse vote of the House of Commons, on the chance of its being rescinded by the country, could be trusted with so delicate a mission; who could be relied on, in the conduct of such an expedition against a foe alike stubborn and weak, to go far enough, and yet not too far—to carry his point, by diplomatic skill and force of character, and with the least possible infringe-

policy of the Government would remain what it had been. That policy was 'to maintain the rights, to defend the lives and properties of British subjects, to improve our relations with China, and in the selection and arrangement of the means for the accomplishment of those objects, to perform the duty which they owed to the country.'

To which side the sympathies of the country inclined was soon apparent. On the very day this announcement was made, the Prince's Diary contains the following entry: 'Tidings that the country in all directions pronounces (*sich erklärt*) in favour of Lord Palmerston;' and long even before the dissolution of Parliament (21st March) it was obvious that the elections would add considerably to the numbers on whom Lord Palmerston could rely for steady support. His personal popularity contributed largely to this result. The country admired the energy, the address, the patriotic spirit, the unfailing good humour of a statesman from whom years seemed to have taken none of his vigour. It had not forgotten that in the recent struggle with Russia, while others had lost heart, and had frequently shown more sympathy with the nation's adversaries than with the nation itself, he had never wavered, and had brought England triumphantly, both in the field and at the council table, out of a struggle which the great body of the people agreed with him was worth all that it had cost. The welfare and honour of the country they felt were safe in his hands. They had not the same confidence as to an influential section of those whose votes on the Chinese question had placed him in a minority. The conclusion of the war in Persia, and tidings from China which supported the view that the affair

ment of the law of humanity; a man with the ability and resolution to insure success, and the native strength that can afford to be merciful? After "anxious deliberation" the choice fell upon Lord Elgin.'—(*Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin*, p. 178.) Towards the end of April he left England on his mission.

of the *lorcha* was but the indication of a settled purpose to put us to defiance and to expel English commerce, also came most opportunely to strengthen the appeal of his supporters to the constituencies. The fate which befel Mr. Bright and Mr. Milner Gibson, who were heavily defeated at Manchester by two Ministerial candidates, and Mr. Cobden, who contested Huddersfield unsuccessfully against an untried politician, was full of significance. Scarcely less so were the numerous losses of seats by the Peelites. In all, 189 new members were returned to Parliament, with a working majority in favour of the Government far beyond their utmost expectations.

The general result was no longer uncertain when the Prince wrote (9th April) to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg, as follows:—

'Our elections will be over this week. The Ministry have gained twenty-four counties and twenty towns, and the apostles of peace have been turned out by the people neck and crop. Not because the people do not love peace, and are not greedy of money, but because they love their own importance and their own honour, and will not submit to be tyrannised over by the peace-at-any-price people.'

A few words in the same letter, read by the light of the early breakdown of the Prince's health, are full of significance:—

'I get on pretty well, in spite of a weak stomach, with which I came into the world, and which I shall take with me to my grave.'

Some days afterwards (14th April) the Prince had to announce to the same correspondent the birth of another daughter at Buckingham Palace. The Queen's recovery was unusually rapid. On the 19th the Prince writes to his stepmother:—

'Hearty thanks for your good wishes on the birth of your latest grandchild, who is thriving famously, and is prettier than babies usually are. Victoria is already on the sofa, and very well, and sends you by me a cordial greeting. Mama-Aunt, Vicky, and her bridegroom are to be the little one's sponsors, and she is to receive the historical, romantic, euphonious, melodious names of Beatrice, Mary, Victoria, Feodora.'[4]

But the happiness caused by the birth of a child, whose attractive ways, as we shall see, were to brighten many of the hours of the few remaining years of the Prince's life, was clouded by the sudden illness, two days afterwards, of the Duchess of Gloucester. She died, at the age of eighty-one, on the 30th of the same month. This amiable lady was the last survivor of the family of George III. In a letter to the Prince the day she died, Lord Clarendon, who knew her well, paid her this enviable tribute: 'I believe that no person ever lived who had more attached friends than the Duchess of Gloucester, or whose loss will be deplored with more genuine sorrow.' These words were valued by the Queen and Prince, for they expressed their own feeling. After speaking of her in nearly the same language in a letter to King Leopold a few days afterwards, the Queen adds: 'Her age, and her being a link with bygone times and generations, as well as her great kindness, amiability, and unselfishness, rendered her more and more dear and precious to us all, and we all looked upon her as a sort of grandmother. Her end was most peaceful.'

Among the letters of congratulation on the birth of the

[4] 'She is to be called Beatrice,' the Queen writes to King Leopold (5th May), 'a fine old name, borne by three of the Plantagenet Princesses, and her other names will be Mary (after poor Aunt Mary), Victoria (after Mama and Vicky, who with Fritz Wilhelm are to be the sponsors), and Feodore' [the Queen's sister]. 'I hope you approve the choice.'

Princess which reached the Queen, not the least cordial was one from the Emperor of the French. It touched upon the vexed question of Neuchâtel, which now promised to be amicably settled,[5] and alluded to the approaching visit to Paris of the Grand Duke Constantine. 'I am grieved,' the Emperor wrote, 'to see that the English wish to attach a significance to this visit which does not belong to it. We are gratified here by the goodwill and courtesy shown to us by Russia, but this in no way weakens the interests and the feelings by which we are bound to England.'

As the letter touched upon politics, it was as a matter of course passed on by the Prince to the Foreign Secretary. It seemed to Lord Clarendon, and also to Lord Palmerston, to furnish an opportunity for opening the Emperor's eyes to the fact, of which they were well aware through authentic intelligence from other quarters, that the 'bons procédés' of Russia meant something more than the courtesy of courtly friendship, and formed part of a well-studied scheme for undermining the Anglo-French Alliance. They also thought it well he should be told, that it was not wholly without reason that the English press were suspicious of the obsequious advances of the Russian Court to a Sovereign whom that Court had treated at the outset of his reign with studied indignity, and with whom, or the political creed of whose people, they could not have any natural sympathy. Accordingly, acting upon their suggestion, the Prince drew up the following reply. It was well known that the Emperor attached the greatest value to his good opinion. Neither was any one more likely to influence a mind which was already beginning to cast about for the means of carrying into effect his favourite projects for the readjustment of the boundaries of Europe, and which, in the matter of the Danubian Principalities, about which a keen diplomatic controversy was now

[5] See vol. iii. *ante*, p. 508.

raging, had shown a disposition to fall in with the views of Russia rather than with those of Austria and England.

'Buckingham Palace, 28th April, 1857.

'Sire and dear Brother,—I received with the greatest pleasure your Majesty's kind letter. The Queen has been greatly touched by the good wishes you express for her and for our little girl. She knows that the sentiments you so well express are of such long standing, that they are sincere and lasting, and she also attaches, as you know, the highest value to your friendship. For myself I set the greatest store upon every fresh mark of your Majesty's confidence; this feeling on my part has never varied since the first time we met at Boulogne. It has been cherished amid all the difficulties through which we have passed; and this cordiality of intercourse has been of undeniable benefit to the country.'

After congratulating the Emperor on the successful results of His Majesty's efforts to bring about a settlement of the Neuchâtel question, the Prince continues:—

'As to the journey of the Grand Duke Constantine, I thoroughly appreciate what your Majesty says on this subject, and I regret no less than yourself, Sire, the interpretation sought to be put on this visit by our press. Your Majesty does well to cultivate the friendship of all the reigning families in Europe, and of the peoples over whom they rule. The greatest good may result from relations of this kind; and our Alliance would be a veritable bondage if from jealous motives it asked you to renounce for its sake every other friendship. It is a sincere pleasure to the Queen and to myself that your Majesty should be more known and understood. But the impression which this interchange of courtesies with Russia may produce, both upon Russia herself and upon the rest of the European public, is quite another

matter, and is well worthy of consideration. First, as regards Russia, one may ask if she will not be led by it to conceive hopes and designs which your Majesty has nevertheless no intention to encourage; or if she will not flatter herself with the idea of being able in this way to undermine the Anglo-French Alliance, which is certainly the most intelligible aim and most natural object of her policy? As regards the European public, it can only judge of things by external appearances; but the opinion which is begotten by these appearances exercises a great influence on men's minds, and produces in the long run a kind of general sentiment, which frequently prevents a Government from remaining master of its actions so thoroughly as it started with the intention of being. This certainly is the case in a country so free as England, where everything is inquired into and discussed without restraint. But even in France, where discussion is more limited, where the press is a less active agent, a rapid and animated public opinion is formed, of which no one is more skilled than your Majesty in noting the birth, the growth, and the force, and in accordance with which you have yourself to regulate your line of political conduct,—as witness the conclusion of the war and the general tenor of the negotiations for peace.

'In the present case, what renders the English public and press more sensitive is the fact that, possessing as they do great political knowledge and experience, they probe to their foundation the bases of our Alliance; they study the causes which render it so desirable, and so work with all the greater ardour to preserve it. Now they find that this Alliance is based upon the two nations being on the same level of civilisation,—upon a mutual desire to develop as much as possible sciences, art, letters, commerce, &c. &c.,—upon our close vicinity to each other, which makes a good understanding necessary,—and upon the well-being and the happi-

ness of the two countries, which are bound so intimately together.

'If, on the other hand, they ask what might be the basis of an alliance with Russia, they find that there is a complete dissimilitude of views, of feelings, and of ideas; that in the eyes of Russia, Western civilisation, far from having any title to be encouraged, is the enemy that ought above all others to be resisted; and that there exists between the two such an absence of mutual interests that, in truth, if the one ceased to exist, the other would scarcely be affected. Thus they conclude that if, notwithstanding these fundamental differences, the Russian Alliance is desired or sought for, this Alliance can have for its basis nothing but an external and purely political motive. Immediately all Europe sets to work to reflect, and asks itself what this motive is; confidence is shaken; England naturally is the first to take the alarm, which is soon shared equally by the rest of the world. The Queen and myself personally are convinced that your Majesty has no intention of this kind, and, so far as we are concerned, the fresh assurances on this subject which your Majesty has been pleased to give in your last letter were superfluous. At the same time I have thought it well to explain the cause of the susceptibility of the public and the press, which, in my judgment, has its origin in the very idea which is at the bottom of our Alliance.

'Your Majesty will find the Grand Duke Constantine a very agreeable man. It is some years since I saw him, but he then struck me as able, intelligent, thoroughly educated, and full of zeal and ardour in everything which he undertakes. Above all, what left the deepest impression on me was his eminently and exclusively Russian characteristics. For him *Holy Russia*, its beliefs, its prejudices, its errors and its faults, the Paganism of its religion, the barbarism of its populations, are objects of the most profound veneration.

He adores them with a blind and ardent faith. In a word, he appeared to me, in all the conversations which I had with him, so profoundly Oriental in all his views and aspirations, that it struck me as impossible to make him comprehend the ideas and the sentiments of the West, or to get him to appreciate and still less to like them. I should be curious to learn, if he is still the same man I found him, and what impression he makes upon your Majesty.

'I shall not close this long and friendly chat, without begging you to accept the expression of our warmest good wishes for your Majesty, for the Empress, and the young Prince Imperial. The Queen, who has been greatly touched by your message to her, is in a state of health so satisfactory, that we hope soon to be able to go to the Isle of Wight; but you will be sorry to hear, that the illness of the good Duchess of Gloucester is causing us at this moment the most serious anxiety. I have the honour to be, Sire, your Imperial Majesty's good brother and friend,

'ALBERT.'

This letter, before being despatched, was submitted in the usual way to the consideration of the Prime Minister and Lord Clarendon. By them it was pronounced 'most excellent.' It ought, Lord Clarendon wrote to the Prince, 'to open the Emperor's eyes to the consequences of his adulation of Russia, and above all to put him on his guard against that extremely well veneered gentleman, the Grand Duke Constantine.'

The Emperor of the French took the Prince's letter in good part, and it was doubtless not forgotten, at least for the time, in his relations with those who were pressing the Russian alliance upon him. 'Your reflections,' he wrote to the Prince (1st May), 'appear to me most just, but I answer them by this simple remark. When one is following a plain

straightforward course, when without making advances one is simply meeting civilities with civilities (*de bons procédés par procédés équivalents*), why disquiet oneself about the mistakes of public opinion? And besides, how are they to be prevented, if they exist, although one's conduct gives no kind of warrant for them?'

This was no doubt written in all sincerity. But it is nevertheless certain, that, unconsciously it may be to the Emperor himself, the flattering advances of Russia, which continued to be persevered in under every discouragement, were not without influence in the end upon his subsequent policy.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

On the 5th of May, the Prince opened the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition. It had been feared that his intention to do so might have been abandoned in consequence of the death of the Duchess of Gloucester. But no private grief or conventional decorum was ever allowed by the Prince to interfere with the call of a public duty, and there was yet another reason for his going, which was gracefully expressed by himself in replying to the address of condolence presented to him by the General Council of the Exhibition :—

'If I have thought it my duty,' he said, 'to attend here to-day, although her mortal remains have not yet been carried to their last place of rest, my decision has been rendered easy by the conviction that, could her own opinions and wishes have been known, she would, with that sense of duty and patriotic feeling which so much distinguished her, and the generation to which she belonged, have been anxious that I should not on her account, or from private feelings, disturb an arrangement intended for the public good.'

Not the less was the Prince's decision felt to be a crowning kindness to the active help which he had given towards making this Exhibition the great success which it was by this time known to be in itself, and which it ultimately proved to be financially. Early in 1856, the appeal made to him by its projectors to aid them by procuring pictures and other works of art from the Royal Collections, had been most cordially answered by the Queen and by himself. When the arrange-

ments were more advanced, a deputation from the General Committee explained to the Prince, at Buckingham Palace, on the 2nd of July, 1856, their views as to the nature and character of the collection which they proposed to bring together. The great difficulty which they saw before them was to persuade the owners of valuable works of art, who were naturally jealous of their safety, to part with them for however short a time. Next day the Prince, in a letter to the Earl of Ellesmere, the Chairman of the General Committee for the Exhibition, furnished them with what proved to be an effective solution of the problem, by pointing out, that the difficulty would disappear, if it were known that the Exhibition had a higher purpose than that of merely gratifying the public curiosity, and giving an intellectual entertainment to the population of a particular locality. 'A person,' he wrote, 'who would not otherwise be inclined to part with a picture would probably shrink from refusing it if he knew that his doing so tended to mar the realisation of a great national object.' A national purpose which might be appealed to, the same letter stated—

'might be found in the educational direction which may be given to the whole scheme. No country invests a larger amount of capital in works of art of all kinds than England; and in none almost is so little done for art-education. If the collection you propose to form were made to illustrate the history of art in a chronological and systematic arrangement, it would speak powerfully to the public mind, and enable, in a practical way, the most uneducated eye to gather the lessons which ages of thought and scientific research have attempted to abstract; and would present to the world for the first time a gallery such as no other country could produce, but for which, I feel convinced, the materials exist abundantly in private hands among us.

'As far as painting is concerned, I enclose a catalogue, exhibiting all the different schools, with the masters who illustrate them, which able hands have compiled for me, and which was

communicated to the National Gallery Committee of 1853, and printed by them with the evidence.

'If such a catalogue for instance were to be filled up with the specimens of the best paintings by the different masters enumerated in it which exist in this country, I feel certain that the Committee would come to their owners with very different powers of persuasion and a very different claim to attention, than when the demand for the loan of certain of their pictures was apparently dependent upon mere accident or caprice.'

The Prince's advice was followed. His letter was made public, and the consequence was that a representative collection of works of art was brought together, such as could not have been organised in any other way. Their owners entered heartily into his views, and eagerly followed the example which was set them by the Queen of placing their treasures at the disposal of the Committee. What distinguished the Exhibition from anything that had before been attempted, was the completeness with which various branches of art were illustrated, while at the same time the collection was brought within limits which kept the attention from being either distracted or fatigued. The Prince, as he himself said, in his address to the Executive Committee at the opening ceremony, had watched the undertaking 'with the deepest interest from its first inception.' The enthusiasm, the energy, and the finish with which every detail was carried out, were quite after his own heart. With the splendid results which they had achieved before him, it was with peculiar emphasis that he could congratulate the Committee in the same address upon the success which had so far crowned their labours.

What was done by the Prince on the opening day is a good illustration of the fatigue of body and mind which he was constantly undergoing. Leaving Buckingham Palace at six in the morning, he reached Cheadle, near Stockport, soon after eleven. Here he was met by Mr. Watts, the Mayor of

Manchester, and some of the county magnates. From that time till seven in the evening he had not a moment to himself. The incidents of the day, however, are best told in a letter which he wrote to the Queen that evening on his return to Abney Hall, the residence of Mr. Watts:—

'It is half-past seven, and I am half undressed, to put myself into plain clothes for dinner, and half dead too with the day's fatigues. It was nearly seven before we got back from Manchester. As the telegraph will have informed you, we arrived here about twelve, having been driven—a distance of some five miles—by the Mayor of Manchester, Mr. Watts, in his carriage from the station. Abney Hall is a house built upon a Gothic design and decorated by Mr. Crace, in the highest style of *luxe*, with the finest pictures, &c. After luncheon, we donned our uniform, and drove with an escort, &c. &c., to Manchester, some six miles, and through the town, amidst great cheering,—Sir Harry Smith upon his arab "charging the multitude." We reached the Exhibition about two. The officials were all assembled in the waiting-room. Of those present whom I knew, were Lords Overstone, Granville, Stanley, Ward, Hill, Yarborough, Carlisle, the Dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, M. Van de Weyer, Dallas, and the *Negro* [the Minister from Hayti]. The presentation of the Corporation address took place in the Great Hall, and my answer, with my *frightful* voice, "quite cracked!" [1] The procession then marched up the Hall to the daïs, where "God save the Queen" (Clara Novello, Sims Reeves, and Weiss, Halle directing) was sung. Then followed Lord Overstone's address of condolence on the occasion of the Duchess of Gloucester's death, and my answer, Mr. Fairbairn's Exhibition address and my answer, then "The Heavens are telling," the Bishop of Manchester's prayer, and the

[1] The Prince was suffering from a cold, and had almost lost his voice.

Hundredth Psalm. The perambulation of the building followed; then back to the daïs, "The Bright Seraphim," then my declaration of the opening, and the "Hallelujah Chorus." After this we examined the pictures, &c. for a couple of hours —a wonderful collection,[2] the building very beautiful and tastefully decorated, the people very friendly. I saw Waagen, Playfair, Chadwick, Jacob Omnium, Lewis, Eastlake, Lord Elcho, W. Cowper, Carl Haag, &c.

'Back as before. I hope you will be able to understand my account; the newspapers will fill up the details. . . .

'I shall not stay long after dinner. Only the Mayor, Mrs. Watts, and Miss Watts will be there, besides my own suite.

'Abney Hall, 5th May, 1857.'

By eight o'clock next morning, the Prince started for the Peel Park at Salford. He received an address from the Corporation of Salford, in the Museum and Free Library, to which he replied. After visiting the Exhibition of Manchester Local Artists, he attended the unveiling of a statue of the Queen in the Peel Park, where he again spoke.[3] Soon after midday, he was on his way to London, and six o'clock found him present in Buckingham Palace in the Council Room, when the Speech for the opening of the new Parliament was submitted for the approval of the Queen. No wonder that his Diary for the day concludes with the words: 'Very tired—early to bed (*sehr müde, früh zu Bett*).'

The replies by the Prince to the Manchester addresses

[2] '*Wundervoll vollständig und reich.*—Wonderfully complete and rich'—is the entry in the Prince's Diary the same day.

[3] This statue, as the inscription on it bears, was erected to commemorate the Queen's visit to the Peel Park (10th Oct. 1851) by the contributions, aided by public subscription, of 80,000 Sunday-School teachers and scholars, who were present to welcome Her Majesty on that occasion.—See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 400.

were somewhat more occasional than his addresses usually were. This was remarked by the very thoughtful and high-minded journalist who conducted the *Spectator* at the time; but he added: 'Prince Albert seldom speaks in public without depositing the seed of thought for future reflections among those who hear him and those who read his words.' He then proceeds:—

'In responding to the address of the Executive Committee, the Prince entered into the spirit of the subject, and touched upon some points which should set Manchester men thinking.

'"If," he said, "art is the purest expression of the state of mental and religious culture, and of general civilisation, of any age or people, an historical and chronological review given at one glance cannot fail to impress us with a just appreciation of the peculiar characteristics of the different periods and countries, the works of which are here exhibited to us, and of the influence which they have exercised upon each other.

'"In comparing these works with those of our own age and country, while we may well be proud of the immense development of knowledge and power of production which we possess, we have reason also for humility in contemplating the refinement of feeling and intensity of thought manifested in the works of the older schools."

'. . . What is the connection between Art, Manufactures, and the Church? Prince Albert, who views all these subjects from the highest ground, perceives that there are no forms of beauty and of utility in action which are not governed by the same laws of order that govern the universe and give delight to the living creatures thereof.

'We possess developed "knowledge" and "productive power:" a glance at the tame pictures in the Royal Academy of the present year, at the building-contractors' style of architecture displayed in Westminster Hall,[4] will show how faint are the "feelings" carried into art, and how superficial the "thought." The mannerism of art, the imitation of "effects" in painting, and the adaptation of building rules to the lath and plaster

[4] Alluding to the exhibition there of competitive designs for the new Foreign Office.

materials of our cheap day, nearly exhaust reflection. Otherwise art would develop some better adaptation of its forms and beauties to present materials and to present building wants. Prince Albert did not preach the sermon to the Manchester men; he only gave them the text. The very expressions "religion" and "intensity of thought" will set them questioning, and in reflecting they will preach the sermon to themselves.'

In another article in the same paper (9th May) the writer called attention to a few words from the Prince's speech at Salford on uncovering the Queen's statue, which may be commended to the attention of those political writers who have discovered in him an advocate of personal government. The Prince's language, says the *Spectator*, 'will perhaps equally astonish both despots and democrats in coming from the mouth of a royal person. He trusted that the future inhabitants of Salford would find in the contemplation of that statue "an assurance that, where loyalty and attachment to the Sovereign, *as the representative of the institutions of the country*, are linked to an ardent love of progress, founded upon self-reliance and self-improvement, a country cannot fail to prosper, under favour of the Almighty." There are few men,' says the very advanced Liberal by whom this was written, 'who could put the pith of our Constitution into a sentence so tersely and clearly as the first gentleman in our commonwealth.'

On the 7th of May the Court went to Osborne, from which the Prince came to Windsor next day to attend the burial of the Duchess of Gloucester in St. George's Chapel. 'Very touching' (*sehr ergreifend*) is the brief record of the ceremony in his Diary.

In Parliament, which had met on the 30th of April, and elected Mr. John Evelyn Denison, Speaker, in the place of Mr. Shaw Lefevre, now Lord Eversley, who had for eighteen years filled that office with signal ability and success, no business

beyond the swearing-in of members was transacted until the 7th of May, when the Queen's Speech was delivered by the Lord Chancellor. It contained little of interest beyond the announcement that a treaty of peace had been concluded with Persia, and that a plenipotentiary had been sent to China, who would be supported by an adequate naval and military force, to deal with the disputes there which still remained unadjusted. It promised measures of legal reform. On the subject of Parliamentary Reform it was silent, and this silence was strongly commented on in the discussion on the Address. The agitators of this question were quieted by Lord Palmerston's assurance that before next Session it would be the duty of the Government to take the subject into their fullest and most deliberate consideration; but that they felt no useful purpose could be served by calling upon the House during the present Session—of necessity a very short one,—to engage in discussions upon the large and sweeping questions of a change in the representation of the people in Parliament.

Baron Stockmar, who had spent the winter in England on what proved to be his last visit to the Queen and Prince, was now in Brussels. Some weeks before he had written (9th March) to King Leopold:—

'In the spring of 1837, now twenty years ago, I returned to England to give what help I could to the Princess Victoria, now Queen. This year I shall be seventy, and I am no longer equal, mentally or physically, to perform the laborious and exhausting office of a paternal friend and trusted confessor. I must say good-by, and this time for ever. This is but the course of nature. And it is well for me that I can do so with the clearest conscience, for I have worked as long as I had strength to work, and for a purpose no one can impugn. The consciousness of this is my reward: the only one which I desired to earn; and I am assured, that my beloved master and friend, knowing thoroughly as he does the whole facts of the case, will

freely and gladly, and from the bottom of his heart, bear witness that I have deserved it'—(*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 44.)

However unfit he might think himself, Baron Stockmar was nevertheless to be to the last the Prince's 'paternal friend and trusted confessor.' A few days after the Baron left England, the Prince resumed his correspondence with him in the following letter (16th May):—

'Surmising you to be still in Brussels, I cannot resist sending you a couple of lines.

'The sad expedition to [the funeral of the Duchess of Gloucester at] Windsor went off well, and I have not caught fresh cold in St. George's Chapel; my cough, however, has not been got rid of, and will scarcely be so, while the east wind, which declines to move, lasts. Even Osborne does not look so green as it should.

'The opening of Parliament and the Address went off well. Lord Palmerston's answer about Reform was, I think, the right one. . . .

'I enclose two extracts from the *Spectator*, as to my answer to the Manchester addresses, not from vanity, but because they may give you pleasure.

'All the children are well, as also the Queen, who gains visibly in strength. May this be the case with you also, and may the contact with new things and new people have a vivifying effect upon you, as it usually has! Alfred has shot a capercailzie at Oberhof; you may conceive his exultation! Coburg, alas! is sure to be grey and leafless. . . .

'I have begun to read Marmont [Duke of Ragusa's *Memoirs*], which interest me uncommonly.'

A few days afterwards the official announcement was made of the intended marriage of the Princess Royal to Prince Frederick William of Prussia. On the 16th it had been formally announced in the Prussian Official Gazette (the

Staats-Anzeiger), and on the 19th it was communicated to Parliament by a message from the Queen, in which Her Majesty expressed her confidence in the assistance of Parliament 'in enabling her to make such a provision for her eldest daughter, with a view to the marriage, as may be suitable to the dignity of the Crown and the honour of the country.' It was the Prince's wish that this occasion should have been taken to settle once for all what provision should be made for the Royal children, and so to obviate the necessity of appeals to Parliament, which, however liberally responded to, could scarcely be agreeable. But the Ministry were averse to this course, and seem indeed to have been under some misgiving as to how Parliament might be disposed to deal with the special case which they were now called upon to meet. It was soon obvious, however, that this misgiving was unfounded. By a majority of 328 to 14 the House of Commons supported the Government proposal to settle a dowry of 40,000*l.*, with an annuity of 4,000*l.*, upon the Princess, and Mr. Disraeli spoke the prevailing sentiment both there and throughout the country, when he said that it became the House 'to consider in a generous spirit an appeal not only necessary, but which all were ready to welcome with sympathy and respectful affection.'

The Prince could not have failed to be gratified by the prevailing tone of the discussion. Writing (28th May) to Baron Stockmar, whom he knew to feel a deep interest in the subject, he said:—

'The dominant feeling in the House seems to have been that it ought to give what the Ministers proposed, whether this was more or less; that a discussion would be out of place, and a division greatly to be lamented. The House was *determined* to be *unanimous* out of respect for the Queen. Roebuck, therefore, was able to do nothing, and the

Chancellor of the Exchequer was laughed at when with childish ingenuousness he went back upon Blackstone, George II., &c.[5]

'All this only shows how little politicians, in their over-anxiety, often know what the feeling of the country is. Seeing how marked was the desire to keep questions relating to the Royal family aloof from the pressure of party conflict, and to have them *settled*, it would, I believe, have been an easy matter to have carried through the future endowments of them all, according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's and Palmerston's original plan, which was subsequently dropped by the Cabinet; and I more than regret that this was not done. Still, even as it is, we have established a good precedent, not merely for the grant itself, but for the way and manner in which such grants should be dealt with.'

It might have been thought that, while the wasting effects of the Crimean War were still so vividly present to men's minds, no Power in Europe would have either felt or provoked the desire to embark in fresh conflict. But beyond the irritation which war must always leave behind it, there were special elements of disturbance, in which those who were in the secrets of diplomacy saw grounds for serious alarm. Russia made no secret, that, if she acquiesced in her present defeat, she did so only in the hope of renewing her inroads on the Ottoman Empire, when her forces were sufficiently recruited to enable her to make a dead letter of the Treaty of Paris. Much might have happened in Europe before that time to make the same combination of the Western Powers

[5] A few days later, in the discussion on the Bill to carry out the Resolution of the House, Mr. Roebuck, who had objected to the annuity in the first instance, took the opportunity to make what the Prince in a letter (2nd June) to Stockmar calls 'a loyal effusion,' in which he contrasted his own loyal behaviour with that of *The Times*, as represented by Mr. Walter. 'The speech produced a great impression on the House, and indicates the views which Sheffield may have placed before its representative.'

impossible, before which she had for the time been compelled to succumb. She might count on the miserable government of Turkey to falsify the promises of reform which were demanded from it, when that treaty was concluded, and to be, as it had always been, the tool of the vile intrigues of which Constantinople was the centre. If only the European Powers should relapse into easy indifference as to the fulfilment by the Porte of its pledges to turn over a new leaf and to take measures for the welfare of the races under its rule, and for a sound administration of its finances, it would never be difficult to bring up the Eastern question at some convenient season, when impatient disgust at a misrule and at an inveteracy of corruption which no warnings from within or from without could arrest, might have detached from the Ottoman Government the sympathy of every other European Power. In the unceasing struggle for influence at the Porte among the representatives of the European Powers—that '*lutte mesquine et malsaine*,' as it was well called by Prince Gortschakoff—no point was likely to be lost by the representatives of the Power which alone of them all had marked Constantinople for its prey. The political blunder committed by the Emperor Nicholas, in his frank disclosures on the point to Sir Hamilton Seymour, was not likely to be repeated by his successors. Europe, Russia knew well, must be lulled into forgetfulness of what it had learned as to her hereditary policy on such unmistakable authority, before any fresh attempt in that direction could be made with the smallest hope of success. But she could afford to wait. Indeed she had no choice but to do so, as long years must elapse before she could hope to be in a position to go to war. Meanwhile, however, she lost no time in preparing the way for avenging her past defeat and recovering by diplomacy what she had lost in the field.

With Austria nothing was to be done. She was loyal to

Turkey, and open neither to blandishment nor temptation. Besides, the bitterness felt by Russia towards a Power on which she had counted as a friend, and which had failed her in her difficulties, was extreme. With France it was different. The visions of European changes which were known to be cherished by the Emperor of the French made him open to approach. Accordingly the most strenuous efforts were directed towards weaning him from the policy for which he had so recently fought. How far he may have been swayed by the arguments of Russian diplomatists it is of course impossible to say. But nothing is more certain than this, that however ready he would have been then or at any time to oppose to the last an aggressive policy, which would have enabled Russia to advance her hold upon Turkish territory, his opinions by the beginning of 1857 were so far altered, that he would not again have drawn the sword in support of the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire, if threatened from other quarters. It could have been no secret to Russia, for it was well known elsewhere, that he would now have even looked with complacency upon the dismemberment of an Empire, for the preservation of which hardly a year had passed since he was in arms.

Our own Government was aware that during the conferences in Paris the French Emperor had been quite ready to commence the work of disintegration, and had gone so far as to urge Austria to take possession of the Principalities. All higher considerations apart, much could not be said for the sagacity which prompted such a proposal, in view of the terrible expiation so recently extorted from Russia for the ambition of the Emperor Nicholas in the same direction. Austria was not likely to fall into the error of entertaining such a suggestion; for, besides being wild and unjust in itself, this would have opened the way for its author to seek modifications of the Austrian territories in other quarters, in furtherance of that

fixed idea of an alteration of the map of Europe, which had an expansion of the frontiers of France for its primary motive. The offer was refused, and the refusal was followed by a change from extreme friendliness to undisguised bitterness in the tone maintained by the Emperor and his Government towards Austria and her ambassador Count Buol. Simultaneously with this change, the advances of Russia towards France, referred to in the last chapter, became more marked, and a peculiar emphasis was given to them by the visit of the Grand Duke Constantine to Paris.

The friendliness of the Emperor towards England remained substantially unaltered. But it was impossible to be blind to the fact, that a certain amount of soreness had sprung up in his mind, due partly to the strong language of the press, and partly to the refusal of the Government to countenance in any way his views as to a revision of the Treaty of Vienna, or to concur in his plans for the settlement of the Principalities. Thus, on the 16th of May, the Prince writes from Osborne to Baron Stockmar:—

'In Paris they seem embittered against us, and especially so against Austria. For revisions of the map we are of course inconvenient allies, and Austria, because of her position in Italy, and her determination not to permit the Principalities to be wrested from the Porte, is in downright opposition. It is in this and this alone, that the key is to be sought and found.'

The future constitution of the Principalities had been left by the Treaty of Paris to be settled by the Treaty Powers, after receiving the Report of a special Commission appointed 'to investigate their present state, and to propose bases for their future organisation.' The administration guaranteed by the Porte to these provinces under the Treaty was to be 'independent and national,' with 'full liberty of worship, of

legislation, of commerce, and of navigation.' The Porte also undertook to convoke immediately in each of the two provinces a Divan, composed in such a manner as to represent most closely the interests of all classes of society, who were to be called upon to express the wishes of the people in regard to the definite organisation of the Principalities.

There was here the basis for a good settlement, had all the parties interested been equally sincere in wishing merely for what was best for the people affected, and in upholding at the same time their allegiance to the Porte. But the ink of the Treaty was scarcely dry, when it became obvious that other interests and very conflicting views were at work. The Emperor Napoleon had come to the conclusion (see *ante*, vol. iii. p. 465), that the best thing for the Principalities themselves was that they should be united under a foreign Prince, who should admit the suzerainty of Turkey. Russia advocated their union with this difference, that it should be presided over by a native Prince. This did not fall in with the views of the French Emperor, who seems to have been sincerely anxious to make the Principalities strong as a barrier against Russia; whereas, with a native Prince at the head of the State, he was well aware that Russia would be able to use her accustomed arts to gain a control over these provinces. Sardinia took the same view as France, and indeed the project of the French Emperor had everything upon its face to recommend it, had there been nothing to fear from Russia in the future.

To him, as we have said, the integrity of the Turkish Empire had become a matter of indifference. But it was scarcely to be expected that this feeling should be shared by his former allies the English, or by Austria, to both of whom the aggrandisement of Russian power in the East was a certain source of future difficulty. Austria, who had hitherto found Turkey an excellent neighbour, was opposed to an

union, which, besides affecting the security of her Eastern provinces, appeared to her to be calculated to pull down the authority of the Sultan. The English Government, fresh from its experience of the desperate struggle of Russia to maintain by the possession of Bessarabia her hold upon the Danube, and well informed through its agents, that the old policy of Russia in the East would continue to regulate her future proceedings, shared in the view of Austria—and this was the view of the Porte also—that the erection of the two provinces into one independent State would be the first blow to the vitality, if not the existence of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. And among the considerations which went to confirm these three Powers in this opinion was the presence to their minds of the probability, that the Principalities, although so united, would be too weak to act as the barrier, which the Emperor of the French maintained they would be, to any future advance of Russia; while in the hope of achieving complete independence, they would naturally make common cause with that Power, and aid in establishing its hold on the Bulgarian provinces.

The differences between the Powers on this subject had begun to assume a critical aspect. But the chief source of apprehension was the Emperor of the French, and those dreams of an enlargement of the French frontier, which exercised—the phrase is Stockmar's—'a demonic influence' over him. Thus on the 18th of May, Lord Clarendon writes to the Prince:—

'I think, as your Royal Highness does, that it is incumbent on us to watch the Emperor closely, as it is plain that a number of wild projects are floating in his head, and that he desires to immortalise himself by a redistribution of Europe. . . . He has a long-cherished hatred of Austria (I don't know why), and he proposed to me at Paris that a closer alliance should be formed between France, England, and Russia, from which Austria should be excluded. I said there was no reason why England and

France should not be on intimate terms with Russia, but that Austria had behaved well in the latter part of the war, and most firmly throughout the negotiations at Paris, and that England would be no party to any arrangement which could not be frankly avowed to Austria.'

England was of course sincerely desirous to be on good terms with Russia, as well as with every other European Power. Russia had not hitherto shown much disposition to cultivate cordial relations with us; but recently a change to a more friendly mood had become visible. The Grand Duke Constantine had let it be known that he proposed coming to England after his visit to Paris, and he had been made aware by the Queen, through Lord Cowley, that he would be a not unwelcome guest at Osborne, if he were disposed to visit Her Majesty there. One of the Grand Duke's objects in visiting France and England avowedly was to interest the financiers of these countries in the construction of Russian railways. What he saw in Paris led him to entertain, however, more faith in the resources of England than in those of France, and Lord Clarendon was aware, on good authority, that in coming to England the Grand Duke hoped to give impulse and solidity to Russian railway enterprise, and by inducing the English to embark large sums of money in them, to make a future war with them as adversaries, as difficult as possible. Lord Clarendon hints at this in the same letter to the Prince, but it is not uninstructive to observe to what influence he chiefly ascribes the altered tone of Russia:—

'The civility of Russia towards us has not as yet been very great, beyond the wish of the Grand Duke to come here, and I *know* that that wish was expressed before he left Nice, if he could be sure of a good reception, and he ordered every newspaper to be sent to him at Paris from hence in which the possibility of his coming to England was discussed. *From the moment, however, that the result of the elections was known at St. Petersburg, the change in Russian policy became apparent, and*

hence respect and deference were shown towards us. The notion of the instability of affairs in France is also gaining ground in Russia, so that a good many things, besides the Emperor's plotting, are in operation to produce changes, but I hope that our unswerving and disinterested course of policy may still prevent those changes from being mischievous.' [6]

Things were in the position which we have described, when the Prince wrote (18th May) the following letter to Baron Stockmar:—

'We are no longer able to go up together into our Observatory; still I must give you the result of my latest astronomical observations. The path of a long anticipated and calculated comet begins to grow more and more clearly defined.

'Great dissatisfaction with us prevails in Paris on account of the Principalities,—on account of Italy,—we having proposed to France to persuade Sardinia to join with us in a declaration, that she had no intention of disturbing the territorial boundaries defined by Treaty—on account of Naples, as to which we proposed (this was a year ago) that France and we, in case of a revolution, should not overturn the dynasty,—on account of our press, which canvassed and spoke in no flattering terms of the approximation between France and Russia.

'In Vienna marked anxiety is felt that France is at work

[6] In a letter from M. Guizot to Lord Aberdeen (21st December, 1851), he says, in speaking of Louis Napoleon: '*Toute guerre aujourd'hui devient nécessairement révolutionnaire, et il n'a plus la faveur des fauteurs des révolutions. Cependant, comme la situation deviendra difficile, comme il a l'esprit chimérique et rêveur, il se pourrait bien qu'un jour, pour échapper à ses embarras intérieurs, il rêvât et cherchât quelque remaniement territorial qui relevât sa popularité. Peut-être même rêve-t-il déjà!*' It did not need the lesson of the Emperor's fall to teach, that no unjustifiable war ever goes unavenged. Finely was it said by Burke—'The blood of man should never be shed but to redeem the blood of man. It is well shed for our family, for our friends, for our God, for our country, for our kind. The rest is vanity, the rest is crime.'

in Italy and on the Danube to undermine Austria. The line taken both in speech and act throughout Paris towards Austria is *extremely and avowedly hostile*, and this after having shown her the greatest consideration. The approximation between Russia and France has hostility to Austria for its aim.

'The anxiety to flatter Prussia in the Neuchâtel affair, and to support her through thick and thin,—the visit of Prince Napoleon to Berlin in return for that of Fritz Wilhelm, before that of the Archduke Max, which was earlier in date, was returned in Vienna, excites comment both there and in Berlin. Is it that it was thought desirable to make sure of Prussia before attacking Austria?

'Brunnow is at work to arrange an interview of the Emperors Napoleon and Alexander at Berlin!

'Russia has suddenly turned over a new leaf, so far as we are concerned, and begins to grow infinitely polite and friendly; she has now encouraged Persia to ratify,[7] keeps in the background in the Principalities, proposes to help us in China, and is sending the Grand Duke here. Why so suddenly? Palmerston's majority is, no doubt, to some extent the cause, but this of itself is not enough.

'Have they all come in Paris to the conclusion that our friendship is indispensable, just as Prussia's is, and that the alliance of these four Powers is the best, with a view to altering the territorial *status quo* at the expense of Austria and the Porte? This is my conviction, and I see a number of small confirmations of this conclusion which are not of a kind to put upon paper. Turn this idea over. The French were absurdly Austrian before the Peace Conferences, and in the midst of them they threw Austria over, and turned to Russia with equal ardour; people say, because of Austria's dislike to take

[7] The Treaty signed at Paris 4th March, and exchanged at Bagdad, 2nd May, 1857.

the Principalities for herself, which at that time would have been the way to *remaniement*. Possibly so. Now our combined action with Austria and the Porte, on the question of the Principalities, is the subject of great ill-humour.'

There were persons about the Emperor of the French, who lost no opportunity of increasing the irritation here spoken of by the Prince. One loyal and wiser counsellor, however, M. de Persigny, seeing mischief imminent, had taken the opportunity of a visit to Paris at this time to warn the Emperor of the danger he would incur, if he allowed himself to be weaned in any degree from the English alliance. He had the courage to tell his Imperial master, that all the Sovereigns who were flattering and cajoling him for their own purposes looked down upon him as an adventurer, and had no belief in the stability of his throne or the duration of his dynasty; whereas the English, who never flattered or cajoled anybody, but who looked only to the interests of England, were attached to the French alliance, and to the Sovereign of France, because peaceful relations with that country were of the utmost importance to England. France was the only country in Europe, that could do harm to England, and on the other hand, England was the only country that could injure France. The late war with Russia had not had the slightest effect upon France except costing her money; but a war with England would rouse every party in France into activity, each with its own peculiar objects, but all of them against the existing order of things. Social order would be upset, and the Emperor might perish in the convulsion.

This conversation was not without its effect. On his return to England, M. de Persigny informed Lord Clarendon of what had passed, and stated that it had created an earnest desire on the part of the Emperor to come to England on a

private visit to the Queen, if possible at Osborne, to which it would be easy to cross over from Cherbourg. Lord Clarendon writes to the Prince (20th May):—

'M. de Persigny describes the Emperor as being intent upon this project, and as attaching the utmost importance to it in order to *éclairer* his own ideas, to guide his policy, and to prevent by personal communication with the Queen, your Royal Highness, and Her Majesty's Government, the *dissidences et mésintelligences*, which the Emperor thinks will arise from the want of such communication. I fear that such a visit would not be very agreeable to Her Majesty, but in the Emperor's present frame of mind, and his evident alarm lest it should be thought that the alliance has been in any way *ébranlée*, I cannot entertain a doubt that much good might be done, or at all events that much mischief might be averted by the Emperor being allowed to pay his respects to Her Majesty in the way he proposes.

'I have discussed the matter after the Cabinet this evening with Lord Palmerston, who takes entirely the same view of the matter as I have taken the liberty of expressing to your Royal Highness.'

Next day the Prince replied from Osborne to Lord Clarendon, that he had shown his letter to the Queen, 'who wishes me to say in answer, that she will of course be ready to do what may appear best for the public interest. We shall therefore be ready to receive the Emperor, with or without the Empress, here at Osborne in the quiet way he proposes.' It would be impossible, the Prince adds, to do so until the work of the season in London was over. 'The latter half of July, the time at which the Queen would naturally be here, and the best yachting season, might appear to the Emperor as the most eligible, and the least *forcé*. . . . I have no doubt,' says the Prince in conclusion, 'that good will arise from a renewed intercourse with the Emperor. The only thing one perhaps may be afraid of is the possibility of his wishing to gain us over to his views with regard to a re-

distribution of Europe, and his disappointment at our not being able to assent to his plans and aspirations.'

M. de Persigny was informed by Lord Clarendon of Her Majesty's readiness to receive the proposed visit, and a few days afterwards (30th May), the Emperor, writing to the Queen with congratulations on her birthday, says: 'Persigny m'a écrit que votre Majesté daignait nous inviter à aller passer quelques jours à Osborne *in private.* Rien ne saurait nous être plus agréable, car il nous semble qu'il y a déjà bien longtemps que nous ne nous sommes vus.'

In returning (3rd June) this letter to the Prince, who had sent it for his perusal, Lord Clarendon says, 'Lord Cowley feels sure that the visit will be very useful, and that the friendly warnings which the Emperor will receive are likely to make him pause in the realisation of his map-mending projects.'

CHAPTER LXXVII.

BEFORE leaving Osborne the Queen received a flying visit from the Grand Duke Constantine, who arrived there on the 30th direct from Cherbourg in Her Majesty's yacht *Osborne*. Lord Palmerston was there to meet him, but nothing occurred to give political significance to the visit, and the next night the Grand Duke left, after having made a cruise with Her Majesty to see the fleet at Spithead.

On the 3rd of June the Court returned to London, where it remained till the 9th, when it moved for a few days to Windsor. The next day the Prince writes to Baron Stockmar:—

'We came here yesterday for Ascot. The few days we were in London I was almost done to death with questions and stupid details for the season (all crammed into so short a space), for levees, drawing-rooms, the christening, balls and concerts, the Crystal Palace festival,[1] the Royal visit to Manchester, the visit of Fritz,[2] of the Archduke,[3] who arrives on the 12th, of Uncle Leopold and the children, who come at the end of this month or beginning of the next, Bertie's Continental tour, &c.

'Besides all this, I am worried by the fact of having to preside and speak at the Educational Conference on the 22nd.

[1] The first of the great Händel Commemoration Festivals. On the 17th, when the *Judas Maccabeus* was given by 2,500 artists, the Prince in his Diary describes the performance as quite excellent (*ganz vortrefflich*).

[2] Prince Frederick William of Prussia, now Crown Prince of Germany.

[3] The Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph of Austria.

'The subject is a very important, and, with all our political and theological antagonisms, an extremely ticklish one, and my address, I regret to say, will be very long. One's nervous system, therefore, has something to endure.

'If, after all, we manage to get to Osborne, we are there menaced by an Imperial visit, which at present is a strict secret, but which will no doubt come to pass.'

On the 14th the Archduke Maximilian arrived in London. The Prince had not previously met him, but he appears to have felt drawn towards him at once. On learning the Duke's engagement to the Princess Charlotte of Belgium some months before, he had written to tell the Archduke of the pleasure with which the Queen and himself had heard of the betrothal 'of their dear Cousin to a young Prince of whom we hear nothing but good,' and her alliance with whom was one purely of the heart. 'May Heaven's blessing,' he added, 'be upon a connection so happily begun, and in it may you both attain life's true happiness, which is only to be found in a home where the heart finds satisfaction for its wants.'

There is a painful interest in noting the strongly favourable impression produced upon his hosts by the distinguished young Prince, then only twenty-five years old, whose career was to come within a few years to a most tragic close, made more tragic by the mental wreck of his young and beautiful bride by which it was followed.[4] The day after his arrival the

[4] The Archduke Maximilian accepted the Imperial Crown of Mexico, which was offered to him in pursuance of a decision of the Assembly of Notables, dated 10th July, 1863, and by a majority of the Mexican people. He was shot at Queretaro on the 19th of June, 1867, by order of Juarez, the President of the revolutionary republic of Mexico. Just before he was shot, the Emperor took out his watch, and pressing a spring which concealed a portrait of the Empress, he kissed it, and gave it to the Abbé who attended him, saying: 'Carry this souvenir to Europe to my dear wife; and if she be ever able to understand you, say that my eyes closed with the impression of her image, which I shall carry with me above.' He had too much reason to think the message might never

Prince speaks of him in his Diary as 'very kind and amiable.' Two days later the entry is, 'We have grown quite attached to the Archduke, who is indeed a very distinguished personage.' A week later the mention of the Archduke's departure is followed by the words: 'He was as loth to part from us as we were to let him go. We have become great friends.' It speaks volumes for the character of the Archduke, that so severe an observer as the Prince wrote to him a few days afterwards: 'You have conquered my sincerest friendship, which, resting as it does on a similarity in our modes of feeling and thinking, promises to be firmly knit for life by the ties of kinship.' Of his bride, who had come on a visit to the Queen a few days before, the Prince in the same letter says: 'Charlotte's whole being seems to me to have been warmed and unfolded by the love that is kindled in her heart. I have never seen so rapid a development in the space of one year. She appears to be happy, to be devoted to you with her whole soul, and eager to make herself worthy of her future position.' The Princess (born 7th June, 1840) had not then completed her seventeenth year.

The Archduke arrived in time to be present at the christening of the Princess Beatrice in the private chapel at Buckingham Palace, on the 16th of June. In a letter written just after the ceremony by the Queen to his future father-in-law, we find him spoken of in the warmest terms:—

'The christening of little Beatrice is just over, and was

be understood; for even before this terrible blow fell on her, the mind of the Empress Charlotte, highly sensitive and enthusiastic as it was, had been shaken by the failure of all the bright anticipations with which the Emperor and herself had gone to Mexico. She had come to Paris some months before the Emperor Maximilian's murder, to plead with the French Government for help, which was refused. Thence she had gone to Rome; and in an interview with the Pope on the 9th of October, 1866, her insanity became apparent. She partially recovered; but after several relapses, her reason became clouded in 1869, apparently beyond hope of recovery.

very brilliant and nice. We had the luncheon in the fine ball-room, which looked very handsome. The Archduke (who has been here since Sunday evening) led me to the chapel, and at the luncheon I sat between him and Fritz. I cannot say how much we like the Archduke; he is charming, so clever, natural, kind, and amiable, so English in his feelings and likings, and so anxious for the best understanding between Austria and England. With the exception of his mouth and chin he is good-looking, but I think one does not in the least care for that, as he is so very kind, clever, and pleasant. I wish you really joy, dearest Uncle, at having got such a husband for dear Charlotte, as I am sure he is quite worthy of her, and will make her happy.

'He may and will do a great deal for Italy. The Archduke speaks much and affectionately of his dear bride. When we were at luncheon he said to me, "I hope it is a good omen for the future that on this occasion England sits between Austria and Prussia [*ich hoffe dass es von guter Bedeutung für die Zukunft ist, dass bei dieser Gelegenheit England zwischen Oesterreich und Preussen sitzt*]," in which hope I sincerely join.'

Interested as Baron Stockmar was sure to be in the future happiness of King Leopold's daughter, it must have been peculiarly agreeable to the Prince to be able to set his mind at rest as to the prospects of the marriage:—

'We are exceedingly pleased with Archduke Max,' he wrote (18th June). 'He is a remarkable young man, very Anglomane, with nothing of the bigot about him, and liberal in his political views. Charlotte will certainly be happy with him.'

In the same letter the Prince was also able to send news which he knew would please his friend, that a marriage was

arranged, which the Prince had been entrusted to negotiate, between the Princess Stephanie of Hohenzollern and Don Pedro, King of Portugal:—

'I received,' he says, 'an answer yesterday from the Prince of Hohenzollern, who accepts for his daughter and himself.[5] I am greatly delighted at the success of the offer.'

We shall hereafter have occasion to see how deep was the interest felt by the Prince in both the parties to this union, and how terribly he was shaken by their early deaths.

This month was an unusually busy one with the Prince, in the numbers of meetings and public ceremonials which he had to attend. The opening of the South Kensington Museum and the Sheepshanks Gallery on the 20th was to him of peculiar interest, as realising one of his most cherished ideas.[6] But even more interesting, as it certainly was more difficult, was the task which he had undertaken of presiding at the first meeting of the Conference on National Education, the main object of which was to consider what means could be devised to induce the poorer classes to keep their children

[5] Charles Anthony, Prince of Hohenzollern, formerly Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Sigmaringen was dropped from his title after the cession to Prussia of his sovereign rights to that principality, 18th October, 1861. In recognition of this cession all the Hohenzollern Princes are recognised as younger members of the Prussian House, and the head of the family is styled 'Royal Highness.' His eldest son Leopold, whose nomination as King of Spain in 1870 was the ostensible cause of the Franco-German War, married (12th Sept. 1861) Antoinette, sister of the present King of Portugal; his second son Charles is now Prince of Roumania; and his second daughter Marie married (25th April, 1867) Prince Philippe, Count of Flanders. Prince Hohenzollern, on the fall of the Manteuffel Ministry in November 1858, became First Minister of Prussia, having been called to that position by the present Emperor of Germany, soon after his appointment as Regent during the illness of his brother the late King of Prussia.

[6] He was much disappointed by the conclusion arrived at in the Report, published this month, of the National Gallery Commission in favour of the existing Gallery as against a proposal to erect a new Gallery at South Kensington, where better provision, the Prince thought, could be made for the pictures being well preserved, as well as seen, than in the smoky and vitiated atmosphere of Trafalgar Square.

at school a sufficient time to give them a chance of real education.

'The political and theological antagonisms,' which the Prince referred to in his letter above quoted (p. 57) as making the subject 'an extremely ticklish one,' were disposed of in his address with the Prince's accustomed fairness. The various views of those who favoured State schools, or Voluntary schools, where the instruction should be purely secular, or those where religious instruction was the basis of the education, were all fairly stated by him. But, he added—

'If these differences were to have been discussed here to-day, I should not have been able to respond to your invitation to take the chair, as I should have thought it inconsistent with the position which I occupy, and with the duty which I owe to the Queen and the country at large. I see those here before me, who have taken a leading part in these important discussions, and I am happy to meet them on a neutral ground; happy to find that there *is* a neutral ground upon which their varied talents and abilities can be brought to bear in communion upon the common object; and proud and grateful to them, that they should have allowed me to preside over them for the purpose of working together in the common vineyard.'

He then congratulated his hearers upon the results of their rival efforts, by which, while the population had only doubled itself since the beginning of the century, the number of schools, public and private, had been multiplied fourteen times. But against this cheering circumstance some painful facts had to be set. Of the 4,908,696 children in England and Wales between the ages of three and fifteen, it had been ascertained that 2,861,848 received no instruction at all, while of the remainder more than a million and a half remained only two years at school. All extension of the means of education, the Prince continued, would be of no avail, 'unless this evil, which lies at the root of the whole question, be removed. . . . To impress this upon the public mind is

the object of our Conference. Public opinion is the powerful lever which in these days moves a people for good and for evil, and to public opinion we must therefore appeal if we would achieve any lasting and beneficial results.'

To educate public opinion upon this subject, he pointed out, would be no simple measure. The cause of the evil would probably be more easily detected than the remedy. Nor probably were the causes to be readily overcome. To the lethargy and indifference of parents upon the subject much of the blame was to be ascribed, but much was also due to several economical conditions of an intricate and difficult kind. By steadily keeping the subject before them the former might be subdued. But, added the Prince, putting his finger with his accustomed certainty of touch upon what was then and still is the great practical difficulty—

'What measures can be brought to bear upon the other root of the evil is a more delicate question, and will require the nicest care in handling, for there you cut into the very quick of the working-man's condition. His children are not only his offspring, to be reared for a future independent position, but they constitute part of his productive power, and work with him for the staff of life; the daughters especially are the handmaids of the house, the assistants of the mother, the nurses of the younger children, the aged, and the sick. To deprive the labouring family of their help would be almost to paralyse its domestic existence. On the other hand, carefully collected statistics reveal to us the fact, that, while about 600,000 children between the ages of three and fifteen are absent from school, but known to be employed, no less than 2,200,000 are not at school, whose absence cannot be traced to any ascertained employment or other legitimate cause.'

The Prince then enforced the duty of awakening parents to the sense of what they lost to their children for this world and the next, by neglecting to give them that education which it was 'not only their most sacred duty, but also their highest privilege' to secure for them. He concluded his address in

words rich in that only true eloquence—the eloquence which springs from the earnestness of profound conviction :—

'Man alone is born into this world with faculties far nobler than the other creatures, reflecting the image of Him who has willed that there should be beings on earth to know and worship Him, but endowed with the power of self-determination,[1] and having reason given them for their guide. Man can develop his faculties, place himself in harmony with his Divine prototype, and attain that happiness which is offered to him on earth, to be completed hereafter in entire union with Him through the mercy of Christ. But he can also leave these faculties unimproved, *and miss his mission on earth.* He will then sink to the level of the lower animals, forfeit happiness, and separate from his God, *whom he did know how to find.* Gentlemen, I say man has no right to do this—he has no right to throw off the task which is laid upon him for his happiness ; it is his duty to fulfil his mission to the utmost of his power ; but it is our duty, the duty of those whom Providence has removed from this awful struggle and placed beyond this fearful danger, manfully, unceasingly, and untiringly to aid by advice, assistance, and example the great bulk of the people, who, without such aid, must almost inevitably succumb to the difficulty of their task. They will not cast from them the aiding hand, and the Almighty will bless the labours of those who work in His cause.'

On the 25th of this month the title of 'Prince Consort' was conferred on the Prince by Royal Letters Patent. The reasons for this step are given by the Queen in the following letter (23rd of June) to King Leopold :—

'I wish to tell you of a step which is to be taken, and which, I am sure, will meet with your concurrence. You know that people call Albert "Prince Consort," but it never had been given him as a title, so I intend to confer it on him merely by Letters Patent, just as I conferred the precedence on him in 1840 : you remember how awkward his position was in Germany, having none but a foreign title ;[1]

[1] See upon this subject vol. i. pp. 61–3.

and, besides, I think it is wrong that my husband should not have an English title. I should have preferred its being done by Act of Parliament, and so it may still be at some future period; but it was thought better upon the whole to do it *now* in this simple way.'

A ceremonial of great interest—the first distribution of the Victoria Cross—took place in Hyde Park on the 26th of this month. The want of a distinctive badge to mark heroic deeds in the army and navy had long been felt. So numerous had been the instances of exceptional bravery in the ranks during the Crimean war, that the time had manifestly come when the common soldier or sailor should be enabled to look to some higher recognition than the medal which he bore in common with the least distinguished of his comrades. Accordingly Her Majesty had issued a Royal Warrant in 1856, instituting a new naval and military decoration, to be designated 'The Victoria Cross,' and inscribed 'For Valour,' which was only to be given to men who had served in presence of the enemy, and had performed some signal act of valour or devotion to their country. It had taken some time to make up the list of those who had entitled themselves to this distinction, but it was now ready, and Her Majesty resolved to inaugurate the establishment of the Order by decorating the heroes with her own hand. Such an occasion could not fail to attract an enormous concourse of spectators. More than 100,000 people were concentrated in the Park, where a vast semicircle of seats, to hold 12,000 people, had been erected for the more favoured few. On the ground were about 4,000 troops. The day was fine to a wish; and the enthusiasm of the people at the highest. All eyes were turned to the heroes of the day, 62 in number, who were drawn up between the troops and the royal pavilion.

At 10 A.M. Her Majesty rode into the Park mounted on

a favourite grey roan, and dressed in a scarlet jacket, with a black skirt, accompanied by the Prince, Prince Frederick William of Prussia, and a brilliant suite. Retaining her seat on horseback, Her Majesty pinned the cross with her own 'honour-giving hand' upon the breast of each of the men as they were brought up to her one by one, and to each, as he withdrew, the Prince bent with a gesture of marked respect. 'A magnificent spectacle! (*superber Anblick*)' is the Prince's brief record in his Diary, and never was the description more truly merited.

The next day (27th June) the Prince wrote to his friend at Coburg:—

'Since my last letter I have made my speech at the Educational Conference; you will perhaps have read it in *The Times* of the 23rd. It has been well received here; still I should greatly like to have your judgment upon it, which for now nearly nineteen years has always been to me most precious on everything that concerns me.

'The day before yesterday was the Council, at which the Patent for my creation as Prince Consort and the consequent change in the Liturgy was authorised.' Thus this question is settled at last. How the step has been regarded by the public I have not yet learned. *The Times* had a *sneeringly approving* article yesterday, in which the news is announced, by way of return for its being the first to have the news communicated to itself! . . .[8]

'The Archduke left us after the Grand Ball of the 24th, and, to all appearance, with a heavy heart! Uncle Leopold may congratulate himself on such a son-in-law.

'Bertie leaves for Germany on the 6th. We go the day

[8] The tone of the article may be judged of by the last sentence: 'In spite of the poet there is much in a name, and if there be increased homage rendered to the new title on the banks of the Spree or the Danube, the English people will be happy to sanction and adopt it.' The English people *had* adopted it years before.

after to-morrow to Manchester for three days, and return on the 2nd, when Uncle Leopold with Charlotte and Philip are to come to us.

'Yesterday was the great Review for the distribution of the Victoria Crosses.'

Writing to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg soon afterwards the Prince speaks of his new Title, and the reasons for it, thus:—

'I have not said a word to you about my change of title, and I now present myself before you as an entire stranger, "Prince Consort," to wit. The change had become necessary as our sons grew up, all sorts of confusion having already arisen, especially as the name of all the three begins, like my own, with an A, and I was certain to appear to them in the long run like a stranger in the land, as they alone were English princes, and I merely a Coburg prince. Now I have a legal status in the English hierarchy. It was also a source of weakness for the Crown, that the Queen always appeared before the people with her *foreign* husband.'

Baron Stockmar's opinion, both on this subject and on the Prince's Address to the Educational Conference, was given with his usual frankness and sagacity in his reply (1st July) to the Prince's letter of the 27th of June:—

'I have read,' he said, 'your speech at the Educational Conference, and it seems to me a success in so far as that, dealing with a difficult subject, for the practical solution of which no measures could be proposed or set in motion, it leaves no branch of the question untouched. The Conference, according to my notions, can have no result beyond furnishing a sound view of the state of the case, and paving the way to its being dealt with hereafter.

'In regard to the Prince Consort affair, I am delighted that a step has been taken, which in many respects will be

attended with beneficial results, were it only for this, that the assumption that there is nothing in a name is a purely one-sided one. . . .'

The time had now come for the Queen to make the visit to the Art Treasures Exhibition in Manchester, which the state of Her Majesty's health, at the time of the Prince's visit, had prevented. Accordingly on the afternoon of the 29th the Queen and Prince, together with the Princess Royal, the Princess Alice, and the two eldest Princes, and Prince Frederick William of Prussia, left London for Worsley Hall, where they were to remain during this visit to Lancashire.

By nine o'clock next morning the Royal visitors were on their way to the Exhibition. The morning was dull, with occasional showers, but not so heavy as to require the carriages to be closed. All Manchester and its neighbourhood crowded the streets, through which the cortége passed at a foot's pace. Upwards of a million people were computed to have been assembled. 'The crowd,' says the Queen's Diary, 'was enormous, greater than ever witnessed before, and enthusiastic beyond belief—nothing but kind and friendly faces. The streets beautifully decorated with flowers and flags and drapery and long banners, and with so much taste—more like French decorations. Many Prussian flags, and endless kind and appropriate inscriptions, triumphal arches, &c. So much affection towards my darling Albert, so many kind allusions to Fritz and Vicky, united with us. One inscription bore: "Albert the Patron of Art and Promoter of Peace." My beloved Albert is most popular here. Sir H. Smith, and Colonel Hodge of the 4th Dragoons (greatly distinguished in the Heavy Cavalry charge [at Balaclava]), rode on either side.'

Soon after eleven the Exhibition building was reached.

It was filled with a brilliant multitude. On a daïs raised for the occasion the Queen received and replied to addresses from the Executive Committee, and from the corporations of Manchester and Salford, and knighted the Mayor of Manchester, as the record already quoted bears, 'with Sir H. Smith's sword, which had been in four general actions.' After this came the inspection of the picture-galleries. After a full mention of the old masters, 'we were delighted,' says the Diary, 'with the modern school, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Copley, Gainsborough, Lawrence, Landseer, Leslie, Maclise, Cope, Herbert, &c. Copley is Lord Lyndhurst's father; and the picture, a very large one, of the "Defence of St. Helier's" is his. Very fine. Lord Lyndhurst mentioned it to me, asking me to look at it, and I was told he shed tears when it left his house. Returned as we came, with much rain—everything wet, but all the people out.'

Next morning was devoted by the Queen and Prince and their suite to a long examination of the contents of the Exhibition, which was not opened to the public until two o'clock in the afternoon, when the Queen left it to return to Worsley Hall, taking the Peel Park on the way, to see the recently erected statue of herself. Meanwhile the Prince, with his two eldest sons and Prince Frederick Wilhelm, went to the Manchester Town Hall, where an Address from the Corporation was presented to the Prussian Prince, to which he made a reply. Visits were then paid to Mr. Mackintosh's great india-rubber manufactory, and to several other large works, so that it was seven o'clock before Worsley Hall was reached. 'All,' says the Queen's Diary, 'had gone off very well. Fritz read well, and was much applauded. Albert very tired, and not quite well.'

The Royal visitors left Worsley Hall for London next morning, and reached Buckingham Palace by 3 P.M., in time to enable the Prince to go to meet King Leopold and

his family at the railway station, and also to preside at a meeting of the Royal Fine Arts Commission. A great concert of Italian music given by the Queen completed the incidents of a busy and fatiguing day.

Before leaving town for Manchester the Prince had had a full and interesting interview with M. de Tocqueville, of whose writings he had long been an admirer, and to whose fine work, *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*, then recently published, we have seen (*ante*, vol. iii. p. 505) he attached the highest value. Two days afterwards he received from Lord Clarendon a copy of the following passage in a letter which M. de Tocqueville had written immediately after the interview to Lord Clarendon's sister, Lady Theresa Lewis:—

'Je rouvre ma lettre pour vous dire que je viens de voir le Prince Albert, et que je suis enchanté du résultat de cette visite. Je ne saurais vous dire (surtout dans un postscriptum) combien j'ai été frappé et charmé de la justesse de son esprit. J'ai rarement rencontré un homme aussi distingué, et n'ai jamais approché d'un Prince qui m'a paru, à tout prendre, aussi remarquable, et j'ai pu lui dire sans flatterie, en le quittant, que parmi toutes les choses dignes de souvenir que je venais de voir en Angleterre, celle qui m'avait le plus frappé était la conversation que nous venions d'avoir.

'Vous êtes heureux de trouver un tel homme si près du trône.

(Signé) 'DE TOCQUEVILLE.

'29 Juin, 1857.'

The Prince was obviously deeply gratified by the praises of a man who had himself established so great a reputation. It is not often that we find in his papers any reference to the panegyrics with which he must by this time have become familiar, but he considered that of the French philosophical politician worth the following entry in his Diary: 'M. de Tocqueville writes to Lady Theresa Lewis a very high pane-

gyric upon me [*ein grösstes Lob über mich*].' As Baron Stockmar had been the Prince's tutor in political science, there was a special reason in the identity of the Baron's views and principles with those of the eminent Frenchman, why this panegyric should be no less gratifying to the Baron than to the Prince himself.

'I have made the acquaintance of Tocqueville,' he wrote, 26th of July, to the Baron, 'and had a long conversation with him, with which we were both greatly pleased. He has expressed himself in such friendly terms about me to Lady Theresa Lewis, that I send you a copy of the passage which the Queen has made, feeling sure that it will give you pleasure, as I maintained your views and principles, which have become my own.

'The Prince of Hohenzollern has been here for the last four days, and we are much pleased with him. Now the mystery is out,[9] the diplomatists are furious that they had no scent of it.

'Our reception in Manchester was enthusiastic beyond belief. It was truly touching; and Fritz was also received with great affection. He is to receive the freedom of the City on the 13th in Guildhall, and must leave us for Germany on the 14th.

'Bertie set out to-day at noon for Königswinter—he will take a week to get there. Of the young people only Lord Derby's son will go with him in the first instance; Wood, Cadogan, and Gladstone will follow.'

The visit of the Prince of Wales to Königswinter was for

[9] Of the marriage which had been arranged between the King of Portugal and the Princess Stephanie, daughter of the Prince of Hohenzollern and his wife Josephine, a Princess of the Grand-Ducal House of Baden, and a cousin of the Empress Josephine. The Grand Duchess Stephanie of Baden was a niece of the Empress Josephine's first husband, and an adopted daughter of the Emperor Napoleon I.

the purposes of study. Besides the young companions referred to by the Prince, he had with him General Grey, Colonel (now General) H. Ponsonby, his domestic tutor, Mr. Gibbs, his classical tutor, the Rev. Charles Tarver [10] (now one of the Canons of Chester), and Dr. Armstrong. During the Prince's stay at Königswinter Mr. W. Gladstone, Mr. C. Wood (son of Lord Halifax), the present Lord Cadogan, and Mr. Frederick (now Colonel) Stanley, son of the late Lord Derby, and now Minister at War, were with him as companions.

[10] In 1858, when Mr. Gibbs retired, Mr. Tarver was appointed his Director of Studies and Chaplain, in which capacity he accompanied the Prince to Rome, Spain, and Portugal, and then went with him to Edinburgh, remaining with the Prince till the autumn of 1859, when his education ceased to be conducted at home.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

In distributing the Victoria Cross on the 26th of June, there must have been present to the mind of the Queen not only what had been so lately done by the brave soldiers, so well represented by the heroes of that brilliant scene, but also what they and their comrades might soon be called upon to do in the cause of their country. For some time the tidings from India had indicated the existence of a spirit of disaffection among the native troops, which there were strong grounds to believe was due to an organised plan for sapping their allegiance. Several regiments had been disbanded, but the feeling continued to spread to an extent which could not be regarded otherwise than with alarm. Towards the end of June this alarm turned out to have been only too well grounded; and when the tidings arrived in England of the mutiny of the native regiments at Meerut on the 10th of May, and of the massacre by them of numbers of English officers, women and children, followed by the retreat of the mutineers to Delhi, and the spread of the mutiny among the troops there, it was felt that a crisis had come which demanded immediate help from this country.

On the 28th of June Lord Panmure wrote to the Queen that the Cabinet, after anxious deliberation, had sanctioned his giving instructions to the Commander-in-Chief to hold four regiments in readiness to embark for India in addition to those already under orders. He reported that Lord Canning had drawn upon Ceylon for a regiment,—but as an

additional regiment had been ordered to be stationed there as a reserve for China, that island would not be denuded of troops. The regiments which had been despatched to China were also, he said, destined for India, when their work was over in China. Thus twelve regiments of 1,000 each, and about 4,500 recruits for the regiments then in India, would be added to the force there. The Court of Directors, he added, were to issue orders to officers on leave to rejoin immediately, and the Commander-in-Chief proposed to take the same course with Her Majesty's officers.

'The crisis,' he added, 'is one of great anxiety, and painful from the reflection of the severe examples which will be required when the mutiny is quelled. Lord Panmure trusts that this opportunity will be taken advantage of to employ in India a larger proportion of your Majesty's troops than have hitherto been stationed there, which may be easily done without pressing on the finances of the Company.'

To this letter, which reached Her Majesty as she was on the point of starting for Manchester (29th June) the following reply was sent, before she left London:—

'The Queen has to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Panmure's letter of yesterday. She had long been of opinion that reinforcements waiting to go to India should not be delayed. The moment is certainly a very critical one, and the additional reinforcements now proposed will be much wanted. The Queen entirely agrees with Lord Panmure, that it will be good policy to oblige the East India Company to keep permanently a larger portion of the Royal army in India than heretofore. The Empire has nearly doubled itself within the last twenty years, and the Queen's troops have been kept at the old establishment. They are the body on whom the maintenance of that Empire mainly depends, and the Company ought not to sacrifice the highest interests to love of patronage.

'The Queen hopes that the new reinforcements will be sent out in their brigade organisation, and not as detached regiments. Good commanding officers knowing their troops will be of the highest importance next to the troops themselves.

'The Queen must ask that the troops by whom we shall be diminished at home by transfer of so many regiments to the Company should be forthwith replaced by an increase of the establishment up to the number voted by Parliament, and for which the Estimates have been taken, else we denude ourselves altogether to a degree dangerous to our own safety at home, and incapable of meeting a sudden emergency, which, as the present example shows, may come upon us at any moment. If we had not reduced in such a hurry this spring, we should now have all the men wanted!

'The Queen wishes Lord Panmure to communicate this letter to Lord Palmerston. The accounts in to-day's papers from India are most distressing.'

The same evening Lord Ellenborough, who had three weeks before brought the unsatisfactory state of the native army in India before the House of Lords, again raised the question, urging on the Government the necessity of instantly sending out very large reinforcements, and at the same time embodying the militia and calling out the yeomanry, so as to make things secure at home. The same evening the Ministry were closely pressed in the House of Commons by Mr. Disraeli as to the measures taken to meet a state of circumstances so grave that it seemed to place our hold upon India in peril. Lord Granville, in one House, and Mr. Vernon Smith (Secretary of the Board of Control), in the other, explained that by the middle of July 10,000 men (7,000 of the Queen's army, and 2,500 of the East India Company's recruits) would have sailed for India, and that four

more of the Queen's regiments, making up the reinforcements to 14,000, would immediately be sent out.

Somewhat rashly, as events very quickly proved, these statements were accompanied by assurances of disbelief in the existence of any serious danger. For, before the lapse of many days, the telegraph flashed intelligence, which made it impossible longer to entertain this opinion. On the 11th of July the Government learned that the mutiny was all but universal in Bengal, and that within the four weeks preceding the date of the despatch nearly 30,000 men had disappeared from the army in the north of India. Delhi still remained in the possession of the mutineers, and although they had been driven with considerable loss into the city, they continued to make a desperate resistance there. The city, the telegram stated, was to be assaulted immediately; but, as its fortifications were about seven miles in circumference and included an area of three square miles, it was hard for people in England to believe that they could be carried by the scanty forces into whose hands the formidable task of attacking the rebels in their stronghold had been trusted. In fact, the city was not taken until the 20th of September, and then only after heavy losses, and a display of splendid heroism on the part of the besiegers.

The same telegram announced the death, by cholera, of the Commander-in-Chief for India, General Anson, at Kournal on the 27th of June.

The Government was now thoroughly alarmed; and from one end of the country to the other the feeling was general, that no effort was too great to meet a crisis in which the lives of so many English men and women were at stake, and, indeed, the position of the British Empire itself before the world was in peril. England had yet to learn the appalling horrors of massacre and torture and mutilation, by which the insurgents had already stigmatised with eternal infamy their

temporary successes; but those of her sons who knew India best,—and there were few families of the middle classes who had not had relations with the country,—dreaded to think of what might happen, should the mutiny once gain a head over the scanty British forces.

On the 11th of July Lord Palmerston wrote to the Queen that, in consequence of the bad news received that morning, the Cabinet had requested the assistance of the Commander-in-Chief, and that the first measure which they had to submit to Her Majesty was that Sir Colin Campbell should be at once sent out to India to take the vacant place of Commander-in-Chief. Sir Colin had said he would be ready to start the next evening.[1]

'He says,' added Lord Palmerston, 'that he can get at Calcutta everything that he may want for outfit. It is also proposed that General Mansfield, now at Warsaw,[2] whom Sir Colin

[1] This letter was written on a Saturday: Sir Colin started on Sunday evening. Next day, the House of Commons heard the story from Lord Palmerston with a thrill of admiration, which was the forerunner of what the whole country felt. 'Upon being asked,' said Lord Palmerston, 'when he would be able to start, the gallant officer, with his ordinary promptitude, replied, "To-morrow!" and accordingly, the offer having been made on Saturday, he was off by the train next evening.' This was not the first time the same spirit of prompt action had been shown in 'our rough island story.' When Jervis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent, was asked when he would be ready to join his ship, 'Directly!' was his answer.

[2] Where he had been sent as Consul-General at the conclusion of the Crimean War. During the campaigns in India in 1851–52, General Mansfield had been attached to the staff of Sir Colin Campbell, who commanded the forces there. To the high qualities which he had then shown as an officer and administrator, his nomination by his old commander as the head of his staff in the present crisis was due. His distinguished services in that capacity elicited the enthusiastic approval of his chief. In April 1859, he received the special thanks of Parliament, and at the close of the mutiny, General, then Sir William, Mansfield held a position in public esteem only second to that of Sir Colin Campbell himself. In 1865 he received the appointment of Commander-in-Chief in India, which he held for the usual term of five years. In 1870 he was raised to the peerage as Lord Sandhurst. The fatigues of an active life had told upon his constitution, and he died (23rd June, 1876) of congestion of the lungs at the early age of 57.

wishes to have as chief of his staff, should be brought home and sent after him. Viscount Palmerston is of opinion that an additional force of your Majesty's troops beyond the 14,000 now under orders should be sent out as soon as possible, to guard against the dangers which might arise from the desertion of the 30,000 Bengalees, followed as that will probably have been by the desertion or mutiny of a still larger number.'

The next few days were busy ones with the Prince. On the 13th he opened the admirable Schools at Ashford of the Society of Ancient Britons. The same day the Freedom of the City was presented to Prince Frederick William at the Mansion House, where, the Prince notes with satisfaction, his future son-in-law 'had an excellent reception, and his speech met with great approval.' Next day the young Prince returned to Germany. The three following days were occupied with the ceremonial which the Prince Consort had to go through of taking the oaths as Master of the Trinity House, with the departure of the King of the Belgians and his family, with seeing the Queen of Holland, and with field manœuvres at Aldershot, where the Queen spent the 17th and part of the 18th, and was present on horseback at the manœuvres of the troops. On the afternoon of the 18th the Queen and Prince reached Osborne.

In the meantime, the thoughts of both had been absorbed in the all-important question, how the rebellion was to be crushed, which it was now too plain was likely to menace our Indian Empire. Since the 11th tidings of further disaster had been received, and the Ministry seemed, not only to the Queen, but to the Commander-in-Chief, to under-estimate the danger, or, at all events, not to be taking military precautions adequate to the emergency. Accordingly, before leaving town on the 17th, the Queen had expressed her views to this effect, briefly, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, which drew from him the following characteristic answer:—

'Piccadilly, 18th July, 1857.

'Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has had the honour to receive your Majesty's communication of yesterday, stating what your Majesty would have said if your Majesty had been in the House of Commons.

'Viscount Palmerston may perhaps be permitted to take the liberty of saying, that it is fortunate for those from whose opinions your Majesty differs that your Majesty is not in the House of Commons, for they would have had to encounter a formidable antagonist in argument; although, on the other hand, those whose opinions your Majesty approves would have had the support of a powerful ally in debate.

'But with regard to the arrangements in connection with the state of affairs in India, Viscount Palmerston can assure your Majesty that the Government are taking and will not fail to continue to take every measure which may appear well adapted to the emergency, but measures are sometimes best calculated to succeed, which follow each other step by step.'

The Queen, however, was not persuaded that a 'step by step' policy was the one fitted for a struggle which had so swiftly assumed such gigantic proportions, and she considered it her duty to place her convictions on this point fully before the Government. With this view, the first quiet hours in Osborne were devoted to the preparation of the following letter to Lord Palmerston:—

'Osborne, 19th July, 1857.

'The Queen is anxious to impress in the most earnest manner upon her Government the necessity of our taking a comprehensive view of our military position at the present momentous crisis, instead of going on without a plan, living from hand to mouth, and taking small isolated measures without reference to each other. Contrary to the Queen's hopes and expectation, immediately after the late war the army was cut down to a state even *below* the Peace Establish-

ment recognised by the Government and Parliament in their own estimates, to meet the Parliamentary pressure for economy, and this in spite of the fearful lesson just taught by the late war, and with two wars on hand, one with Persia and the other with China! Out of this miserably reduced Peace Establishment, already drawn upon for the service in China, we are now to meet the exigencies of the Indian crisis, and the Government, as it always has done on such occasions, has up to this time contented itself with sending out the few regiments left at home, putting off the day for reorganising its forces.

'When the regiments ordered out shall have gone, we shall be left with 18 battalions out of 105, of which the army is composed, to meet all home duty, to protect our own shores, to act as the reserves and reliefs for the regiments abroad, and to meet all possible emergencies! The regiments in India are allowed one company, raised, by the last decision of the Cabinet, to 100 men as their depot and reserve!

'A serious contemplation of such a state of things must strike everybody with the conviction, that some comprehensive and *immediate* measure must be taken by the Government—its *principle* settled by the Cabinet, and its details left to the *unfettered* execution of the military authorities; instead of which the Cabinet have as yet agreed only upon recruiting certain battalions up to a certain strength, to get back some of the men recently discharged, and have measured the extent of their plans by a probable estimate of the amount of recruits to be obtained in a given time, declaring at the same time to Parliament that the militia will not be called out, which would probably have given the force required.

'The Commander-in-Chief has laid a plan before the Government which the Queen thinks upon the whole very moderate, inexpensive, and efficient.

'The principle which the Queen thinks ought to be adopted is this: That the force which has been absorbed by the Indian demand be replaced to its full extent and in the same kind, not whole battalions by a mere handful of recruits added to the remaining ones. This will not only cost the Government nothing, because the East India Company will pay the battalions transferred, and the money voted for them by Parliament will be applicable to the new ones, but it will give a considerable saving, as all the officers reduced from the War Establishment, and receiving half-pay, will be thus absorbed, and no longer be a burden upon the Exchequer. Keeping these new battalions on a low establishment, which will naturally be the case at first, the depots and reserves should be raised in men, the Indian depots keeping at least two companies of 100 men each. [The Crimean battalions of eight companies had eight others in reserve, which, with the aid of the militiamen, could not keep up the strength of the Service companies. In India there are *eleven* to be kept up by *one* in reserve!]

'No possible objection can be urged against this plan except two.

'(1) That we shall not get the men. This is an hypothesis and not an argument. Try and you will see. If you do not succeed, and the measure is necessary, you will have to adopt means to make it succeed. If you conjure up the difficulties yourself, you cannot of course succeed.

'(2) That the East India Company will demur to keeping permanently so large an addition to the Queen's army in India. The Company is empowered, it is true, to refuse to take any Queen's troops whom it has not asked for, and to send back any it may no longer want. But the Company *has* asked for the troops now sent at great inconvenience to the Home Government, and the commonest foresight will show that for at least three years to come this force cannot

possibly be dispensed with—if at all. Should the time, however, arrive, the Government will simply have to reduce the additional battalions, and the officers will return to the half-pay list from which they were taken, the country having had the advantage of the saving in the meantime.

'But the Queen thinks it next to impossible that the European force could again be decreased in India. After the present fearful experience, the Company could only send back Queen's regiments, in order to raise new European ones of their own. This they cannot do without the Queen's sanction, and she must at once make her most solemn protest against such a measure. It would be dangerous and unconstitutional to allow private individuals to raise an army of Queen's subjects larger than her own in any part of the British dominions. The force would be inferior to one continually renewed from the mother country, and would form no link in the general military system of England all over the globe, of which the largest force will always be in India. The raising of new troops for the Company in England would most materially interfere with the recruiting of the Queen's army, which meets already with such great difficulties. The Company could not complain, that it was put to expense by the Home Government in having to keep so many more Queen's regiments; for as it cannot be so insane as to wish to re-form the old Bengal army of Sepoys, for every two of these regiments now disbanded and one of the Queen's substituted, it would save 4,000*l.* (a regiment of Sepoys costing 27,000*l.* and a Queen's regiment 50,000*l.*) The ten battalions to be transferred to the Company for twenty Sepoy regiments disbanded would therefore save 40,000*l.*, instead of costing anything; but in reality the saving to the Company would be greater, because the half-pay and superannuation of the officers, and therefore the whole dead weight, would fall upon the mother country.

The only motive, therefore, which could actuate the Company would be a palpable love of power and patronage, to which the most sacred interests of the country ought not to be sacrificed.

'The present position of the Queen's army is a pitiable one. The Queen has just seen, in the camp at Aldershot, regiments, which, after eighteen years' foreign service in most trying climates, had come back to England to be sent out after seven months to the Crimea. Having passed through this destructive campaign, they have not been home for a year before they are to go to India for perhaps twenty years! This is most cruel and unfair to the gallant men who devote their services to the country, and the Government is in duty and humanity bound to alleviate their position.[3]

'The Queen wishes Lord Palmerston to communicate this memorandum to the Cabinet.'

A letter of Lord Canning's to the Queen, written from Calcutta on the 4th of July, which was at this moment on its way to England, shows how justly the Queen and Prince had appreciated the state of affairs in India, and the necessity of meeting it by the despatch of a force sufficiently large to overawe the populations of the disturbed districts, and to repair the shock which had been given in many quarters to the belief in British power. After speaking of the delay in reducing Delhi, Lord Canning says:—

[3] Speaking at the Trinity House in the following year (3rd July, 1858) with reference to the small force of British troops by which so much had been accomplished in quelling the insurrection in India, the Prince pursues the same line of thought. 'The deepest responsibility,' he said, 'attaches to us, not to rest satisfied with the enjoyment of the advantages and successes obtained by such self-sacrificing devotion, but to take care that, by maintaining these noble services [the Army and Navy] in sufficient numbers, the tasks which for our benefit may be from time to time imposed upon them, *should not carry with them the almost certain immolation* of those who are expected to perform them.'

'The time which has elapsed has cost England and India very dear. Many precious lives have been lost, and much heart-rending suffering has been endured, for which there can be no compensation. The reputation of England's power, too, has had a rude shake; *and nothing but a long-continued manifestation of her might before the eyes of the whole Indian Empire, evinced by the presence of such an English force as shall make the thought of opposition hopeless, will re-establish confidence in her strength.*

'Lord Canning much fears that there are parts of India where, until this is done, a complete return to peace and order will not be effected. Wherever the little band of English soldiers—little compared with the stretch of country over which they have to operate—which Lord Canning has had at his disposal, has shown itself, the effect has been instantaneous. Except at Delhi, there has scarcely been an attempt at resistance to an European soldier, and the march of the smallest detachments has preserved order right and left of the roads. The same has been the case in large cities, such as Benares, Patna, and others; all going to prove, that little more than the presence of English troops is needed to ensure peace. On the other hand, when such troops are known not to be within reach, anarchy and violence, when once let loose, continue unrestrained, and, until further additions are made to the English regiments in the disturbed districts, this state of things will not only continue, but extend itself.'

In the same letter Lord Canning announces the arrival that day in the Hooghly of the first of the English regiments which had been destined for China, but which at his request Lord Elgin had directed to be turned aside to India.[4] 'From what Lord Canning has ventured to state above,' he adds, 'your Majesty will easily understand the satisfaction with which each new arrival of an English transport in Calcutta is regarded by him.'

[4] 'Tell Lord Elgin,' wrote Sir William Peel, the heroic leader of the celebrated Naval Brigade, after the neck of the rebellion was broken, 'that it was the Chinese Expedition that relieved Lucknow, relieved Cawnpore, and fought the battle of the 6th of December.'—Walrond's *Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin*, p. 188.

The arguments in Her Majesty's letter of the 19th to Lord Palmerston were apparently found too cogent to be resisted, for on the 22nd the Prince records in his Diary, 'The Cabinet has at last adopted our suggestions for an increase of the Army.' Their decision was still in suspense when he wrote (20th July) the following letter to Baron Stockmar:—

'To-day I will do no more than say that we have reached our haven of repose in Osborne,[6] and are still alive. The very last day we were in London we had to fête the Queen of Holland. She was friendly and inclined to like England. We did not come to closer quarters. On the other hand, a more intimate relation by necessity of circumstances has been established with the Prince of Hohenzollern. Uncle Leopold has gone to Manchester, and thence, two days ago, direct to Brussels. We were two days at the Camp, when a great many manœuvres were executed. Very soon we shall be entirely without troops, India now absorbs so many.

'It is very well that it has come to this outbreak in India, as it shows the sore places which the Company were constantly trying to smear over and conceal. *The Times* and the press generally were constantly lavishing nothing but laudation on the Indian and abuse on the Imperial army. . . . Now the bubble has burst. Our Ministry is, however, by no means up to the mark, as little as it was in the last war; and after that experience, still more to blame.

'. . . I mean to embark for Antwerp next Sunday, in order to be present next morning at Charlotte's marriage, returning the same evening. I may perhaps see my brother there.'

[6] Writing the same day to his stepmother the Prince says,—'We made our escape two days ago to this place, which is meant for a haven of rest, but is now selected by all sorts of exalted personages as the place to pay us visits—a total *bouleversement* of its original purpose.'

Before starting on his flying visit to the marriage of the Archduke Maximilian at Brussels on the 27th, the Prince wrote to the Prince of Prussia the following interesting letter. It will be seen from a few words near its close that, gravely as the crisis in India was regarded by the Queen and himself, he never doubted that England would come triumphantly out of the struggle—nay, that, like Hotspur, she would even 'out of this nettle danger pluck the flower safety' for the future:—

'My dear Cousin,—Accept my sincere thanks for your welcome letter of the 17th. We are delighted to hear that Fritz has gone back so well satisfied with his *official séjour* in England. It will have convinced him that the country regards with the greatest pleasure the connection which he has formed with our family; that it does every justice to himself personally, and looks upon him both as man and as Prince of Prussia with a kindly feeling. Of all this we were well aware, but it could not be otherwise than gratifying to us to see it made clear to the whole world and recognised by himself. On his side he has produced a most favourable impression by his appearances in public here.

'As you refer in your letter to the Indian complications, I think it well to communicate to you my views upon the subject. I believe that people on the Continent do not correctly appreciate the position of things in India, and the principle upon which our supremacy over that part of the world is founded.

'The Indians are not a people capable of conquering independence for themselves, to say nothing of maintaining it. Since the days of Bacchus and Nimrod India has constantly been overrun and conquered by new races,—the Assyrians and Persians, the Greeks under Alexander, the Hiungnu, Tartars, Arabians, and others, down to the most recent times.

The conquerors have brought under the yoke and oppressed the races whom they found in possession, but have neither rooted them out nor absorbed them; thus they remain intermingled, but without national coherence.

'The religious gulf betwixt the Hindoos and the Mohammedans makes amalgamation impossible. Among the Hindoos themselves the attachment to caste makes anything like internal unity among the population no less impossible. Our supremacy rests purely upon the circumstance that we protect the different races and populations against mutual ill-usage, that we place the poorest and meanest upon the same level before the law as the most powerful, and ensure justice with unimpeachable fairness and the greatest facility to every one in all parts of the country, while at the same time we do not intermeddle in any of the internal affairs, civil or spiritual, of the different populations. Oppression is out of the question. Import duties are not levied. The Salt Monopoly was the only tax which weighed upon the Indians, and this has been abolished. The Company derives its revenues from the domains of former great proprietary chiefs, from Customs duties, and from commercial enterprise.

'For the country and its civilisation almost nothing has been done up to this time, yet the people bless the protectorate under which they live, after the hideous sufferings which their former rulers compelled them to undergo; and it remains to this hour an open question, how far, with their peculiar religions and customs, civilisation upon European principles is possible or practicable among them.

'Of late this negative system has been to some extent departed from. Canals and railways have been begun, schools founded, the burning of widows has been forbidden, and their re-marriage legalised, the temple of Juggernauth with its horrible service has been closed, and the maintenance of idols discontinued, &c.

'These measures have been taken by the Hindoos as proofs that England means to suppress their religion, and to put Christianity in its place.

'The new cartridges for the Minié rifles, which are dipped in grease that they may slip more easily into their places, have brought matters to a head; for in this the troops fancied they saw a purpose of making them lose their caste, which would inevitably follow from introducing either grease or flesh into their mouths.

'Of the Indian armies—those of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay—the first belongs to the highest caste. In a single battalion there are frequently as many as 400 Brahmins (priests). The loss of caste is political and social death, like the ban of the Pope or of the German Empire in our middle ages. We cannot, therefore, be surprised at the mutiny of the Bengal army, which attracted to itself all who were ill-disposed to the Government. At the same time, the fact that the people have nowhere taken part in it, shows how satisfied they are with the English rule.

'The conflict will undoubtedly be severe and bloody, as the few well-organised European troops are scattered and divided over the whole country, and will have to be led against overwhelming numbers of those very troops whom England has for quite a century been teaching discipline, and which, being as they are the garrisons of the great cities, are now in possession of our chief arsenals and fortresses. Where we have the advantage is, the want of all superior officers in the Sepoy regiments; and what causes a thrill of horror is the thought of having to fire at our own uniform, of the acts of vengeance of the English soldiery, and of the unavoidable punishments which must be inflicted upon the malefactors.

'Your own campaign in Baden gave you sad experience in all these matters.

'If we get over the crisis, which I firmly believe we shall, the general result may possibly be good.

'The confidence of the public in the Indian army, even to the disadvantage of the Queen's forces, to which the entire press has sedulously contributed, has proved to be utterly mistaken; and now we shall, no doubt, have recourse to a rational military system.

'Whether the Company will maintain its position is somewhat doubtful: "*qui vivra, verra.*"

'The English public is calm and composed, the Ministry *too* calm for my notions, and therefore we are constantly digging our spurs into their sides.

'Now, however, I will release you from my Indian gossip, and remain always, &c. &c.

'ALBERT.'

We have chronicled a few pages back the remark of a stranger, after one interview with the Prince,—'One cannot *like* this man; one must *love* him.' What, then, must have been the feeling the Prince inspired in his home! Few will read without emotion the charming glimpse of what he was to the head of that home, and what that home was, in the following letter from the Queen to her Uncle, written next day (27th July) during the Prince's absence in Brussels:—

'At this very moment the marriage is going on, the knot is being tied which binds your lovely and sweet child to a thoroughly worthy husband, and I am sure you will be much moved. May every blessing attend her! I wish I could be present—but my dearest half being there makes me feel as if I were there myself. I try to picture to myself how all will be. I could not give you a greater proof of my love for you all, and of my anxiety to give you and dearest Charlotte pleasure, than in urging my dearest Albert to go over, for I encouraged and urged him to go, though you cannot

think how much this costs me, or how completely forlorn I am and feel when he is away, or how I count the hours until he returns. All the numerous children are as nothing to me when he is away. It seems as if the whole life of the house and home were gone.

'We do all we can to *fêter* this day in our very quiet way. We are all out of mourning; the younger children are to have a half-holiday; Alice is to dine for the first time in the evening with us; we shall drink the Archduke and Archduchess's healths, and I have ordered wine for our servants, and grog for our sailors to do the same.

'Vicky, who is painting in the alcove near me, wishes me to say everything to you and the dear young couple, and pray tell dear Charlotte all that we have been doing.'

The Prince hurried home that night from Brussels by way of Antwerp, Dover, and Portsmouth; reaching Osborne next day in time for dinner. The subject which was obviously uppermost in his thoughts at this time was India. He could not bear to be absent from the Queen's side one unnecessary hour at a time of so much difficulty. Indeed he found on his return that further news had come of fresh danger and disaster. The same evening the last debate of the session on the subject of India was raised in the House of Commons by Mr. Disraeli in a three hours' speech, in which, holding the view—a view now generally abandoned—that the revolt was a national and not a military one, he advocated the sending of a Royal Commission to India to inquire into the grievances of all classes there. At the same time he urged that our forces in India should be doubled, that its people should be told that there was a hope for them in the future, and 'taught at once that the relations between them and their Sovereign would be drawn nearer.' The House, however, was not disposed to interfere with the action of the

Government, and accepted without a division a motion of Lord John Russell's for an address to assure 'Her Majesty that they would support Her Majesty in any efforts necessary to suppress the disturbances in India, and in any measures required for the establishment of tranquillity.'

Although the House of Commons, which in so doing expressed the universal feeling of the nation, had thus given authority to call the uttermost resources of the country into play, the action of the Cabinet still seemed to the Queen and to the Prince to be lacking in vigour, and this at a time when advantage was sure to be taken by some of the European Governments of any symptom of weakness. Replying on the 2nd of August to a letter from Lord Palmerston, in which he announced that the Cabinet had decided on calling out the militia, Her Majesty gave expression to this opinion:

'The embodying of the militia will be a most necessary measure, as well for the defence of our own country, and for keeping up on the Continent of Europe the knowledge that we are not in a defenceless state, as for the purpose of obtaining a sufficient number of volunteers for the army. The Queen hopes, therefore, that the militia to be embodied will be on a proper and sufficient scale.

'She must say that the last accounts from India show so formidable a state of things that the military measures hitherto taken by the Home Government, on whom the salvation of India must mainly depend, appear to the Queen as by no means adequate to the emergency. We have nearly gone to the full extent of our available means, just as we did in the Crimean War, and may be able to obtain successes, but we have not laid in a store of troops, nor formed reserves which would carry us over a long struggle, or meet unforeseen new calls. Herein we are always most short-sighted, and have finally to suffer either in power and reputation, or to

pay enormous sums for small advantages in the end, generally both.

'The Queen hopes that the Cabinet will look the question boldly in the face. Nothing could be better than the resolutions passed in the House of Commons ensuring to the Government every possible support in the adoption of vigorous measures. It is generally the Government, and not the House of Commons, who hang back.'

This letter was read to the Cabinet, and its words seem, by the following letter from Lord Clarendon two days afterwards, to have found an echo in his own convictions:—

'Lord C. read with melancholy satisfaction your Majesty's warning to the Cabinet, and your Majesty needs no assurance from him, that he will use his utmost efforts to induce his colleagues to admit the indisputable fact, that we are utterly defenceless. The thought of this haunts Lord Clarendon by day and by night, and he solemnly assured the Cabinet at its last meeting, that the Indian difficulties were *already* producing an altered tone towards this country on the part of Foreign Powers, and that, if we were not wise in time, they would soon make us feel that they knew our condition as well *or better* than we do ourselves.

'The slowness with which recruiting can be effected is an appalling difficulty.'

. . .

The language of the following letter to Baron Stockmar shows how strongly the Prince felt that the Government were not yet fully alive to the danger, the sense of which was borne home to them with resistless force by the tidings of the next few weeks:—

'My expedition to Brussels turned out extremely well. They were greatly pleased at my coming, and gave me a most cordial reception.

'Uncle was greatly moved and distressed by the imminent

separation from his daughter; I have never seen him show so much emotion. Bride and bridegroom were happy . . .

'Brussels was in great excitement and the popular feeling excellent.

'The events in India are very tragical, and demonstrate the utterly decrepit state of an army which rests upon civil government and the press. We have asked some measures from the Government. It behaves, however, just as it did in the Crimean campaign, is ready to let our poor little army be wasted away, and to make fine grandiose speeches, but does not move one step towards seeing that the lamp is fed with oil; consequently it must go out suddenly with a stench.

'Russia and France turn the moment to account in resuming their plan for the destruction of the Turkish Empire, and have Prussia and Sardinia on their side, so that we are left with only Austria with us in the question of the Principalities. M. de Thouvenel's language is now wholly that of Prince Menschikoff!!'

Like the Prince, Baron Stockmar had too much faith in the English people—a nation which had so often proved itself '*adversis rerum immersabilis undis*'—to have any doubt of her coming safely in the end out of the fiery trial she was now undergoing. Accordingly, in replying to the Prince (9th August), he says:—

'The events in India are a heavy domestic calamity for England. Yet, just because of this, there is less reason to despair, as the English people surpass all others in Europe in energy and vigour of character, and for strong men misfortune serves as a school for instruction and improvement.'

CHAPTER LXXIX.

EARLY on the morning of the 6th of August the *Reine Hortense*, with the Emperor and Empress of the French on board, was reported to be approaching Osborne, and the Queen and Prince hurried down to the private landing-place on the beach under the House, to receive their Imperial visitors. The Emperor had had a bad fall on board and was rather lame, but otherwise both the Empress and himself were well and in excellent spirits.

By this time the discussion in regard to the Principalities between Russia, Prussia, Sardinia, and France, on the one hand, and England, Austria, and the Porte, on the other, had risen to fever heat. The elections for the Divan of Moldavia, which had been convoked by the Sultan, in pursuance of the Treaty of Paris, to express the opinion of the people in regard to the definitive organisation of the Principality (see *ante*, p. 48), had resulted in the return of members who were known by France and her supporters to be unfavourable to a union of the two Principalities under one head. They accused the Porte of having effected this result by tampering with the electoral lists, and using other undue means to influence the elections. So far had the dispute gone within the last few days that France, Russia, and Sardinia had threatened to withdraw their ambassadors from Constantinople unless the elections were forthwith annulled. This meant war and general European confusion.

A long conference on the subject took place that day

between the Emperor and the Prince, an account of which by the Prince will presently be given. It could of course be only a free and friendly interchange of ideas. The official negotiations for an arrangement were left in the hands of Lords Palmerston and Clarendon, who came to Osborne for the purpose of conducting them with the Emperor and his Ministers, MM. Walewski and Persigny, who were also guests at Osborne during the visit. During the two next days protracted conferences between the Emperor and the Ministers of both countries took place, when, after much difficulty, an arrangement was come to, which had the effect of obviating the serious rupture between the Powers which had lately seemed to be imminent.

In these conferences, it is scarcely necessary to say, neither the Queen nor Prince took part, the matter being left entirely in the hands of Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon. Matters of even more urgent importance to England were then paramount in their thoughts, and it appears from the Prince's Diary, that advantage was taken of the presence of these noblemen at Osborne to go with them very fully into the state of our army and navy, with reference to what was taking place in India and China, and what the Prince calls 'our pitiable state of unpreparedness (*unsern jämmerlichen Zustand der Unvorbereitetheit*).'

The Imperial visitors returned to France on the 10th, after an interview between the Emperor and the Prince, in which the former 'explained his whole policy, and I honestly (*ehrlich*) gave him my opinion on all points'—(*Prince's Diary*). How frankly and honestly that opinion was given will presently be seen.

Besides accomplishing a valuable political result, the visit went off to the obvious satisfaction of all parties. It is thus the Queen writes of it (12th August) to King Leopold:—

'Our visit was in every way very satisfactory and agreeable. Politically it was, as Lord Clarendon said, "a godsend," for the unhappy difficulties in the Principalities have been *aplanis* and satisfactorily settled. The visit was very quiet and *gemüthlich* (tranquilly pleasant). Good Osborne in no way changed its unpretending privacy and simplicity, and with the exception of a little dance in a tent on Saturday (which was very successful) and additional carriages and ponies, our usual life remained unchanged. Albert truly observed, that the first evening, when the gentlemen came out of the dining-room, he had to rub his eyes, as one says, to feel quite sure, that he was not dreaming, when he saw the Emperor and Empress standing there.

'The Emperor spoke out, as he always does, very openly to Albert, and he to him, which is a great advantage, and Palmerston said to me the last day: "The Prince can say many things which we cannot." Very naturally.

'The Emperor, to whom I gave your message, desired me to say everything kind to you, and said: "*Le Roi n'est pas seulement très-aimable, mais il a tant de bon sens.*"

'Nothing could be more amiable, kind, pleasant, or *ungênant* than both Majesties were. They are most agreeable guests, and as for her, we are all in love with her, and I wish you knew her. . . . Albert, who is seldom much pleased with ladies or princesses, is very fond of her, and her great ally. . . .

'Persigny's devotion to the Emperor, and his courage and straightforwardness in all these affairs, are very gratifying.'

Of the impression left by the visit upon the Emperor of the French, the following admirable letter by himself to the Queen, while its influence was still fresh upon him, is the best record:—

'Madam and very dear Sister,—We left Osborne so touched

by the kind reception of your Majesty and of Prince Albert, we are so struck with admiration for the spectacle of all the virtues which is presented by the Royal family of England, that it is difficult for me to find words adequate to express all the sentiments of devotion and regard which we feel towards your Majesty.

'It is so sweet to us to think, that apart from political interests, your Majesty and your Majesty's family entertain some affection for us, that in the very first rank of my settled purposes I place the desire always to be worthy of this august friendship. I believe that after passing a few days in your Majesty's society, one becomes better; just as when one has learned to appreciate the various knowledge and the exalted judgment of the Prince, one goes away from him more advanced in one's ideas, and more disposed to do good.

'Deign, Madam, I beseech you, to say to him who so nobly shares your lot, that I entertain for him the highest esteem, and the most unqualified friendship:—in saying this, I say, how much value I place upon his.

'As for your Majesty's children, they are all endowed with such good and charming qualities, that they are loved as soon as seen, and that it becomes the most natural thing in the world to wish them all the happiness of which they are worthy.

'Adieu, Madam. Heaven grant that two years may not again elapse before we have the pleasure of finding ourselves near you, for the hope of soon seeing you again is the only thing to console us for this painful parting.[1]

'Palace of the Tuileries, 15th of August, 1857.'

[1] As much of the charm of this letter vanishes in translation, the original is subjoined:—

'Madame et très-chère Sœur,—Nous sommes partis d'Osborne si touchés de l'aimable accueil de votre Majesté et du Prince Albert, nous sommes tellement pénétrés d'admiration pour le spectacle de toutes les vertus qu'offre la Famille Royale d'Angleterre, qu'il m'est difficile de trouver des expressions

A letter so obviously written from the heart naturally elicited a reply no less cordial from the Queen. But we can find room for a translation of only that portion of it which alludes to what the Emperor had said of the Prince.

'I cannot,' the Queen wrote (21st August) 'contest the favourable opinion which your Majesty has formed of my beloved husband, because I know that he deserves it, as he has no other ambition but that of doing good, and of making himself useful where he can. In a position so isolated as ours, we can find no greater consolation, no support more sure, than the sympathy and counsel of him or her who is called to share our lot in life, and the dear Empress, with her generous impulses, is your guardian angel, as the Prince is my true friend.'

Tidings of the salutary influence exercised by the Prince upon the Emperor during this visit were not long of reaching England from Paris on the best authority. On the 18th of August Lord Cowley, in a letter to Lord Clarendon, wrote:—

pour bien définir tous les sentiments dévoués et tendres que nous éprouvons pour votre Majesté.

'Il est si doux pour nous de penser qu'en dehors des intérêts de la politique votre Majesté et sa Famille ressentent quelque affection pour nous, que je mets au premier rang de mes préoccupations le désir de mériter toujours cette auguste amitié. Je crois que, lorsqu'on a passé quelques jours dans votre intimité, on en revient meilleur, de même, lorsqu'on a su apprécier les connaissances variées et le jugement élevé du Prince, on revient d'auprès de lui plus instruit et plus apte à faire le bien.

'Daignez, je vous prie, Madame, dire à celui qui partage si noblement votre sort, que j'ai pour lui la plus haute estime et la plus franche amitié, c'est à dire combien je tiens à la sienne.

'Quant aux enfants de votre Majesté, ils sont tous doués de si bonnes et si charmantes qualités qu'on les aime dès qu'on les voit, et qu'il devient bien naturel de leur souhaiter tout le bonheur dont ils sont dignes.

'Adieu, Madame. Dieu veuille que deux années ne s'écoulent plus avant que nous ayons le bonheur de nous retrouver près de vous, car l'espoir de vous revoir bientôt est la seule consolation à une séparation pénible.

'Je prie votre Majesté de recevoir avec bonté l'expression des sentiments de haute estime et d'entier dévouement avec lesquels je suis, de votre Majesté, le bon frère et ami,

'NAPOLÉON.

'Palais des Tuileries, le 15 Août, 1857.'

'I must not conclude my letter without saying that I hear from all quarters, how charmed the Emperor and Empress were with their visit and its results. You are already aware of the high opinion which the Emperor entertained of the Prince Consort's judgment and abilities, and this opinion appears, if possible, to have been augmented. I cannot doubt that H.R.H. made a deep impression on, and, I trust, will exercise a salutary influence over the Imperial mind. This at all events must be said for the Emperor, that he is open to conviction, and that good judgment and sound sense make an impression on him. Unfortunately he finds little of the kind to consult in this country.'

The Emperor's letter to the Queen had been accompanied by one from the Empress. These the Queen sent to Lord Clarendon for perusal, and in returning them his lordship writes (20th August):—

'Lord Clarendon is very grateful to your Majesty for having allowed him to see the letters of the Emperor and Empress. He never read a letter better expressed, or more affectionate and gentleman-like than the Emperor's. He could hardly have written so, if he had not felt what he said, and he could not have so felt, if his heart had not been properly moved by the contemplation of all that he records. The Empress's letter is likewise charming, and just what it ought to be.

'One cannot over-estimate the importance of the recent visit, for *the Emperor is France*, and France moreover in her best form, because he is thus capable of generous emotions and of appreciating the truth, and her alliance with England has consequently been *retrempée* and invigorated at Osborne.'

In the same letter Lord Clarendon encloses one from Lord Palmerston, to whom he had by Her Majesty's directions forwarded the Imperial letters. Of these Lord Palmerston says:—

'These are indeed most satisfactory letters, written with evident sincerity of feeling, and with real overflowing affection, and they show the great advantage of the visit. The fact is, that nobody can come into personal intercourse with the Queen and Prince

without being impressed with the same sentiments which these letters convey.'

What the Prince himself thought of the Emperor's letter we gather from what he says of it in writing a few days afterwards to Baron Stockmar:—

'I send you to-day the copy of a letter from the Emperor Napoleon to the Queen, because I believe its contents will give you pleasure; first, because they show that our relation rests upon an honourable, moral basis, and next, because they express the warmth and sensibility of the writer's disposition, and prove that the fearless and simple statement of the truth does not put him out of humour, but forces an acknowledgment of it from him.'

The Prince seems to have lost no time in putting the results of his conversation with the Emperor on record in the following autograph Memorandum. That he attached importance to its contents may be inferred from the fact, mentioned in a letter to Baron Stockmar (17th August), that he had dictated a copy of it to the Princess Royal, as a lesson to her in the political studies in which he had for some time been educating her:—

'Osborne, 6th August, 1857.

'The Emperor and Empress having arrived in the morning between nine and ten, the Emperor took the opportunity of a walk after breakfast, to speak to me upon the present state of affairs in the East, which he acknowledged had got to a dead lock, and which gave him much anxiety. He said he would tell me the whole course of events as far as known to him, and as reported to him.

'At the Congress of Paris he had expressed his opinion of the desirableness of the union of the Principalities, possibly under a foreign Prince; and Lord Clarendon seemed not

only not to object, but to agree with him as to the advantages of such an arrangement.[2] Austria declared herself vehemently against it. Since he had got home, Lord Clarendon had completely changed his opinion, and was against the union. He (the Emperor) did not complain of this, but mentioned it in order to show, that he had not gone forward without previously trying to put himself "*d'accord*" with us. Ever since, as the decision was to be left with the Divans, the partisans of Austria and Turkey had committed the most outrageous acts to force on a decision against the union, contrary to the wishes of the people, who were so anxious for it, that, when the French Commissioner arrived, they carried him in triumph through the streets, dragging his carriage. It was the attempt made by the anti-unionists to make it appear, that he (the Emperor) was not sincere in his wish for the union, which had obliged him to put his Declaration, of which we had since complained, into the "*Moniteur*," which was, as he termed it, "*un peu sa chambre.*" Thereupon the other party committed still further frauds and violences, and falsified the electoral lists. He had not to complain of the English or Russian Commissioners, who remained entirely neutral. He had thereupon demanded from the Porte the revision of these lists, which the Porte had promised. At the last hour the Porte threw her promise over, because Lord Stratford commanded it. The Ministers and the Sultan acknowledged their wrong, and how sorry they were, but that they could not venture to offend Lord Stratford. There were certain things which a great country like France could not put up with in the face of Europe; he demanded the annulment of the elections, or would break off diplomatic relations; Russia, Sardinia, and Prussia would follow him.

[2] See Lord Clarendon's own account of what took place, *ante*, vol. iii. pp. 405–6.

'I replied, that this was sad indeed;—but that in the appreciation of the facts much would depend on their being true or accurate, as reported to him. Lord Clarendon and Lord Palmerston would be here to answer as to the details. I could only say in general, that the reports which we had received gave a totally different story of French electioneering practices, a secret committee at Paris, the anxiety of the Porte to be protected by Lord Stratford against France, &c. &c. The fact was, that these places in the East were the head-quarters of intriguers and liars, whose inevitable dupes the representatives of the Great Powers become, as soon as they set their foot there.

'The Emperor said, there was unfortunately much truth in that; but what grieved him most was the ready suspicion, and the accusation that he was false to the English alliance and wanted to break it, whenever he maintained an opinion of his own. Great countries could not renounce the right of having their own opinion.

'I rejoined, that nothing could be more foolish than such a pretension; that we must be glad, if France had an opinion of her own, as it was only by a friendly interchange of such opinions that we could hope to arrive at the truth. As the causes which produced such frequent altercations between us, however, formed the subject of my anxious study, he must allow me to put another question to him, to which I begged he would give me an open and honest answer. "Do you really care for the continuance of the integrity of the Turkish Empire? This is with us a principle for which we have entered into the French alliance, for which we have made endless sacrifices in blood and treasure, and which we are determined to maintain with all the energy we possess."

'The Emperor said, he would be quite open and honest. "If I asked him as a private individual, he did not care for

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it, and could not muster up any sympathy for such a sorry set as the Turks."

'I interrupted—that I had thought as much. "But," he added, "if you ask me as an *homme politique, c'est une autre chose* . . . I am, of course, not prepared to abandon the original object of our alliance, for which France also has made great sacrifices."

'"Well," I continued, "as determined as we are to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, so determined is Russia to destroy it; but as she has seen her mistake last time, to leave France on our side, which she had not calculated upon, she would take pretty good care to have her next time on her own side. The real antagonists upon principle were Russia and England; and the Power to be gained is France, and I must say, I saw with deep regret, that, ever since the Peace, Russia had made immense progress in winning France over, and what had now happened at Constantinople was a complete Russian triumph."

'The Emperor answered, "He could not believe in that. Although he did not take for gospel all the Grand Duke Constantine had said, he believed he had told him the truth, when he assured him, that Russia did not care for possessing herself of Constantinople."

'I rejoined, "I believed this also; but what Russia wanted was the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire; she would like best to make a sort of Germany of it—little States, which she could govern absolutely, without expense or responsibility."

'"And you think that the independent Principalities united are to make the beginning?" he interrupted.

'"Exactly!"

'"I cannot believe this," continued the Emperor. "Russia is even, I believe, against the union."

'I explained that Russia had been most cautious not to

declare herself, as France was doing the whole work, with the additional advantage of her quarrel with England. But why was he himself so anxious for the union?

'The Emperor explained that he thought the union, by rendering those countries contented, and particularly if well governed by an European Prince, would form an effectual barrier against Russia, whilst the present disjointed and unsatisfactory condition of those countries would make them always turn towards Russia. The union was therefore in the interest of Turkey.

'I said, that upon this one would answer in England that Turkey, being violently against it, must be supposed to know her own interest best.

'The Emperor did not admit that this followed as a matter of course.

'When I instanced Austria as equally opposed to the union, and equally interested to keep Russia out, the Emperor took the opportunity to express the astonishment and disagreeable feeling which had been produced upon himself and France by our sudden alliance with Austria, which was more remarkable than the fact, that he had not repelled the many advances which Russia had made towards him with rudeness, although he had sometimes been afraid that the coldness with which he had received *les bons procédés* of the Russians must appear as such.

'I said that we had no alliance with Austria, but only happened to find her going hand-in-hand with us for a common object, for which France had been once on our side, whereas it was now taking the view of Russia.

'The Emperor then spoke on a subject which he had much at heart, and which he thought might have been taken up at the time when the Conference was assembled at Paris; but the idea, which he had had, he had now given up, as seeing its difficulties and dangers, viz. a Revision of the

Treaties of 1815. They were bad, had been frequently infringed, and remained as a memorial of the union of Europe against France.

'I expressed in the strongest terms my opinion of the danger of touching that question. They might be bad, but their intention had not been directed against France. They were the result of a war, which had raged during twenty-five years through the whole of Europe, and the basis upon which the peace of the world had been assured for the last forty years. They had not affected France alone, but thousands of interests in every country. Many countries had disappeared altogether; others had been divided, curtailed, reformed, &c. &c. If one Power could claim a revision, all could do the same, and had the same right to it. The end would be a rousing of all the evil passions—bloodshed and general war—of which nobody could see the end, which might indeed be very different from what any one had expected. I begged him to open the book of history, which lay before him. I knew of only one instance in all history of the object of a great struggle having been declared beforehand, and left unaltered and unsurpassed in the end; and this was our late war for the integrity of the Porte. But who, for instance, would have thought, when the Duke of Brunswick issued his famous proclamation from Coblenz before he entered with the Allies into France to assist poor Louis XVI., that the end of it would be the Congress of Vienna in 1815? And who would have dreamed of the dreadful catastrophes which filled up the intermediate time?

'The Emperor answered that, of course, if such results were to come of it, the idea would not do at all, but that he thought there were many little improvements in the state of Europe possible without such consequences. He wished to do nothing to create disturbance; all he wished was *de bien*

s'entendre avec le Gouvernement Anglais, sur toutes les éventualités, so that, when they arose, they should not find us unprepared and disagreeing.

'I rejoined, that the Treaties of 1815 had been and were the basis upon which rested the international law and the legal state of Europe; but this had not prevented readjustments in special cases where they had become necessary. I had only to point to Belgium, and even quite recently to Neuchâtel. The main point in the treaties as directed against France had been the exclusion of the Buonaparte family from the throne. The Emperor's presence here to-day was the strongest proof that there was no practical difficulty in changing special points when such changes had become necessary; but calling the treaties generally into doubt must lead to certain commotion.

'The Emperor insisted that, even although this were so, it did not prevent England and France understanding each other on special points, but this understanding the English Government always avoided. Now even in Africa many improvements were possible, but at the least movement on his part up started all the English Consuls in arms denouncing him.

'The Emperor complained of the violence Lord Palmerston had shown lately. He had written short notes to Count Persigny, which the latter sent on to him. These had latterly been such, that he had forbidden any more coming under his eye, and Lord Palmerston had only lately said in one of them: "*Si telles et telles sont les opinions de l'Empereur, que va-t-il chercher à Osborne? Pourquoi vient-il?*" This was, as the Emperor expressed it, "*un peu fort.*"

'I said, that Lord Palmerston generally wrote more strongly than he spoke, and that these notes must evidently have been only quite confidential effusions.

'Osborne, 11th August, 1857.

'Before leaving yesterday, the Emperor invited me to a final conversation. He seemed very much pleased at an understanding having been come to with us, but he hoped we should take great care not to let it ooze out, for it would never do for him, and the honour of France, that it should be said, he had come over to Osborne, and then immediately been made to change his mind.

'[The agreement come to is, that England should make the Porte annul the elections, and that the Emperor should yield upon the question of the union.]

'I replied, we had certainly no intention to take any unfair advantage of his concessions; but that it would only appear natural to the world, that the position which the Porte had taken up, and in which she had been supported by England and Austria, would not have been suddenly abandoned and reversed, unless he had made some counter concessions.

'The Emperor said, that he had always intended to be conciliatory; but that he had never been understood. Persigny was very well meaning, but unfortunately he always took the side of Lord Palmerston against his master. He had himself a high opinion of Lord Palmerston's judgment, but he wanted his [the Emperor's] own opinions to be explained to him. Instead, however, of explaining them to the English Government, Persigny combated them with his own; and so, instead of being able to convince the English Government, he had to dispute with his own Ambassador. He regretted how often England and France misunderstood each other.

'I joined in this regret, but thought the circumstance not unnatural, considering the difference of the nations. Nations had their natural history, like animals, which must be taken into account, if they are to judge of each other

correctly. Just as a sparrow did not eat meat, and an owl must not be expected to live on seeds, so the ruling point with France was the "*point d'honneur*," which she often placed on matters which Englishmen could not understand. On the other hand, England was ruled by interest and principle. The English are slow in taking up a line, which must itself be first proved to them to be just in principle and for their real interest. When this is done, and the line is once taken, they will cling to it with persevering tenacity, and no change of ministers or men will have the slightest influence upon it. I appealed to history, the American war, the Indian policy, the wars with Napoleon, who had never been able to understand this, thinking that Mr. Pitt was the enemy of France, whilst Mr. Fox, Lord Grenville, Lord Liverpool, in fact all, followed the same policy in office.

'The Emperor complained of the duplicity of Austria, of which Count Nesselrode had given him striking instances in Paris lately. Whilst Austria had been professing towards us, that she occupied the Principalities in order to keep the Russians out of them, she explained to Russia, that she did so only to free the Russian army, so that it might more easily fall upon us.

'I replied: I fully believed this; I was not at all surprised at it, from having considered the natural history of the Austrian Government. . . . But I added, if Austria is insincere, Russia is ten times more so.

'The Emperor agreed with me, but said it was of the greatest importance to France not to let the Northern alliance be reconstructed, which had so long maintained a threatening and hostile combination against her.

'I fully admitted this, but begged that on that account he would not give Austria cause for apprehension; for if she saw that her interests required it, she could make her peace with Russia in three days. Russia and France had been

enemies from 1815 to 1853 without the interests of either suffering in the least from it. Austria and Russia, on the other hand, had so many points of contact, and of common interest, that it was difficult to keep them long asunder.

'The Emperor answered, that he had already seen an instance of what I had said. Austria had offered a reconciliation to Russia, but the Emperor Alexander had replied, that, although he felt no *rancune*, their good understanding must not be hostile to France, whom he looked upon as a friend; this was, "*il faut le dire, très bien de la part de l'Empereur.*" It was very important for France, that she should not get Austria as her neighbour, having Prussia already on her frontier. This was the reason why he had resented so much the move which Austria had made with regard to supplying the garrison of Rastadt, which he now felt sure had originated in the desire for economy on the part of the Grand Duke of Baden.

'I said that, far from being a proof of the ambition of Austria, this move arose with the South German Kingdoms, who were afraid of Prussia and France, and of Austria leaving them in the lurch, if attacked on the Rhine, and who therefore wished to have their fortresses garrisoned by Prussia. Austria pretended to the first voice in Germany, but never made the slightest sacrifices for the good of Germany.

'The Emperor told me, that he was going to have an interview with the Emperor of Russia in September, and was afraid that this would create a great outcry in England and the most foolish surmises.

'I said, I thought it quite natural, and had always anticipated, that this interview would take place; in fact, it could not be avoided, if the Emperor Alexander wished for it. He must not be astonished, if our press should not show much reserve on the occasion, for although understanding general politics, and the special interests of England very

well, and although most ably written, it was not written by men conspicuous for "*les sentiments très-élevés.*"

'We then talked at length on the state of France, and on French politics. I asked him, whether he had read Tocqueville's book, "*L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution?*" He answered that he had, and praised its style, but complained of the difficulty of doing anything, as the "*esprit de la nation*" was so contrary to any self-government, of which he gave me some curious and even ludicrous instances. He added, however, that what made France weak within, viz. "*la Centralisation*," made her strong without. He preferred the state of England, but it could not be imitated in France.

'He returned then to the old topic, and said that he adhered to his conviction, that the peace of Europe could never be lasting until the Treaties of 1815 were revised. However, he had of late seen again, that there were much greater difficulties than he had supposed. He would tell me what had made the strongest impression upon him. He had ordered Count Morny to speak to the Emperor Alexander, and to ascertain, if possible, his views on the subject for an exchange of opinions. The Emperor had answered, however, that he had learned from the experience of his father, who had once had a conversation with Sir Hamilton Seymour. The mischief which its publication had done would seal his lips to any diplomatist.

'I said, that this was a most delicate question, and so full of danger, that it required the greatest care how it was touched. As for myself, I could not for the life of me see how it was to be done. No one would run the great risk of resettling the legal status of Europe, without great advantages to himself. Now, if everybody was to get great advantages, where were they to come from? But if some were to seek great advantages to themselves at the expense of the others, these would defend themselves to the last.

'The Emperor replied, "Yes! It is very difficult; *cependant*——" There was, for instance, the Duke of Brunswick without children;—what would become of the Duchy, when he died?

'I answered, "That is all settled by law and treaties. It would belong to Hanover."

'"That is," replied the Emperor, "why I always thought better means '*pour rendre de grands bienfaits au monde*' could be found out of Europe than within. There was Africa, for instance. He would not make of the Mediterranean, as Napoleon I. had wished, '*un lac Français*,' but '*un lac Européen*.' Spain might have Morocco, Sardinia a part of Tripoli, England Egypt, Austria a part of Syria—*et que sais-je?* These were all magnificent countries rendered useless to humanity and civilisation by their abominable governments. France herself wanted an outlet for her turbulent spirits."

'I considered this already a great improvement upon his first idea of interfering with the reformation of "*le vieux monde et la vieille société*;" but for all that I could not consider it as at all easy, disturbing as it did to a certain degree, although in a different way, the balance of power in Europe. As for the outlet to be obtained for France, I was not sure that the Emperor did not over-estimate the advantage. France had for now twenty-seven years possessed Algeria, a country as large as herself, and I was afraid that it had not absorbed the turbulent spirits of Paris. It was not in the spirit of the French nation to colonise and build up new states, because of their inaptitude for self-government, of which he complained in France.

'The Emperor could not agree to this, and said, time was necessary for creating new states;—that the French were ready to emigrate, and were to be found in large numbers in all the great towns of Europe and America. The great

obstacles, he continued, to any real improvements in Europe were the miserable jealousies of the different governments. That was why he thought a mutual understanding so essential. However, he was glad to have obtained one glimpse of daylight since he came here, which he considered as an immense point gained. He had gone through the Scandinavian question with Lord Palmerston. The Scandinavian union was wished by the people of the Northern countries. If Denmark were to be united with Sweden, he had been afraid that England would object to Holstein being given to Prussia on account of the splendid harbour of Kiel; Lord Palmerston, however, had said, "Not at all."

'I interrupted, that we would not object to the strengthening of Prussia; but that I was certain that the people of Holstein would not like to become Prussian, nor would the rest of Germany like to see it. Holstein belonged already to Germany, and what she wanted was, not to be separated from Schleswig, the union with which was guaranteed to her. I expatiated a little on the Holstein question, which appeared to bore the Emperor as "*très-compliquée.*"

'At the conclusion of our conversation, he expressed in the strongest terms his pleasure at the solution of the Eastern difficulty.

'I said, that we could hardly be grateful enough to Providence for having allowed this visit, and for having let it fall at the present moment. Three days later he could not have come on account of the rupture and universal turmoil, which must have followed the steps taken at Constantinople. Three days before, it would have given the appearance, that whilst he had been the friendly guest at our house he had meditated treacherously to upset us in Turkey. What I should have dreaded most would have been the fury of our press against him personally.

'I explained that this was not the effect of a desire on the

part of the press of England to make war upon him; but he must recollect, that our press was the only weapon left to all his enemies in Germany, Italy, France, &c. &c., and to the powerful party which had up to this time been successfully kept down by him. The use of this weapon is at present denied to them, as the press feels that, because the nation wants a good understanding, and the alliance with France and himself (the Emperor), the ally must be spared and protected. But, from the moment that this friendship is broken, the press having no further motive for shielding him, this fearful weapon would at once be at the disposal of his enemies, and used to the utmost.

'As after the answer received by Count Morny from the Emperor Alexander, I could not help suspecting, that the object of the Imperial interview was to enable the Sovereigns to speak without that reserve which a diplomatist rendered necessary, I thought it as well to beg the Emperor to let me make one remark with reference to the projected meeting in September, viz., that knowing the relationship and ties of intimacy existing between the members of that great family of Northern princes, cemented by an alliance of nearly fifty years, I was certain too much caution could not be shown on his part with regard to what he might say to the Emperor Alexander, as I begged him to rest assured, that every word which passed his lips would be known at once to them all.

'I ventured further to express my opinion on the danger to which he exposed himself by not taking a Minister with him, when he stayed away from Paris, and then treating important and complicated affairs quite of himself.

'He answered: he felt this, but he could not correspond with so many different Ministers, and he could not take them all with him. He felt the necessity of getting some one to act as his chief Minister, "*mais où trouver l'homme?*"

'I agreed in the difficulty, but urged also the necessity of

having an organ capable of seizing his views and giving them that form which would ensure their success. No monarch had been great without having a great Minister.

'He concluded by many civil expressions of confidence in my judgment, to which I could only return the assurance of my sincerest wishes for the Emperor's success and welfare, and the happiness and prosperity of mankind.'

(Initialed) 'A.

'Lord Palmerston, to whom I spoke of the foregoing conversation, declared with some surprise, that the daylight which he could have shown to the Emperor could in reality have been only the smallest glimpse. He had by no means approved a division of Denmark; but, on the contrary, had shown all the difficulties surrounding that question. He had merely stated, that we were not jealous of Prussia and of seeing her strengthened.'

No one can read this Memorandum without admiring on the one hand the frankness and courage with which the Prince spoke out what was little calculated to flatter the Emperor's self-esteem, or without acknowledging on the other the openness to conviction for which Lord Cowley in the letter above cited claims credit for the Emperor, and that quality of mind, rare among all men, and most rare among sovereigns, which feels no resentment at contradiction.

When informed by Lord Clarendon of the arrangement come to, the Prince advised him to put it in writing, on the sound principle that words spoken are apt to be differently understood and remembered. The value of the suggestion became apparent, when in the following year the Emperor and Count Walewski adopted a policy at variance with the Osborne Compromise. Fortunately Lord Palmerston acted upon the Prince's suggestion, and drew up a Memorandum the same day (9th August) the arrangement was concluded.

That arrangement was in effect that the Moldavian elections should be annulled, and new electoral lists made out and revised by the Commissioners under the Treaty of Paris. On the other hand, the British and French Governments were to combine at the proper time in endeavouring to secure the *suzeraineté* of the Sultan over the Danubian Provinces, and at the same time to ensure to those provinces an internal organisation calculated to maintain their ancient privileges, and to promote their well-being and prosperity.

Next day the Memorandum was shown to Count Walewski, Lord Clarendon telling him, as he did so, that as it was drawn up for the information of the Cabinet, he wished to know if its correctness was admitted. Count Walewski admitted that it was correct, but refused to consider it as an official document, or to sign it, upon the ground that the Emperor's Government desired to keep the satisfaction to be obtained from the Porte, and the arrangement subsequently to be made respecting the Principalities, distinct from each other, and also because, were he to sign the Memorandum, it would appear that France had made a concession upon the latter point for the purpose of inducing the Sultan to agree upon the former. These reasons were hardly sufficient for the refusal, and Count Walewski's conduct at a later period raised the suspicion that they may not have been his only reasons.

CHAPTER LXXX.

TOWARDS sunset on the evening of the 19th of August the inhabitants of Cherbourg were surprised by the unexpected appearance in the harbour of Her Majesty's yacht *Victoria and Albert*, with the Queen and Prince and six of the Royal children on board. A stormy-looking sea in the Solent that morning had threatened to prevent the little expedition to France, which had been devised as a recreation after many months of continuous anxiety and fatigue. But it was persevered in, upon the assurance of nautical experts, that the disturbance was local, and, true enough, when the yacht had passed the Needles the sea became smooth, and by the time Cherbourg was reached, says the Queen's Diary, from which we shall borrow largely for the account of this expedition, 'the evening was splendid, the sea like oil, and the sun throwing over everything a beautiful golden light. The breakwater,' the same record adds, 'is of great extent, and extensive works are going on all around; the only shipping two or three small trading vessels. The small town is picturesquely situated, with an old church,—a fort with a high cliff commanding it on one side, and hills rising behind the town, very like Ehrenbreitstein.'

The Prince went on shore at once, and soon afterwards the *Préfet Maritime* and his flag-lieutenant came on board the yacht, and remained to dinner with the Royal visitors. After dinner the English Consul, Mr. Hammond, and several French officers of distinction, appeared in full uniform. Among

these was General d'Herbillon, *Inspecteur d'Infanterie*, who had commanded at Traktir, in the Crimea, and who happened to be at Cherbourg on a tour of inspection. 'He was extremely civil,' Her Majesty writes,[1] 'expressing his thanks "*pour les grandes bontés de votre Majesté*" in sending him the Order of (Companion of) the Bath, "*que je porte avec une grande fierté.*" His aide-de-camp had also been with him in the Crimea. There was also General Borel de Bretizel, commanding the troops here,—also a Companion of the Bath —who turned out to be an old acquaintance, we having seen him with Nemours at our fancy ball in 1845. It was strange. The others were the Contre-Amiral Regnault, the Commandant de Place, Colonel Dumailly, Général d'Artillerie, a very stout old gentleman, also on a tour of inspection,— all *très-aimables*. After a few civil speeches they returned, and we went below and played.'

Next morning at half-past eight all the fortresses saluted. 'At twenty minutes past nine the Consul arrived, and Albert, to my great delight, consented to remain here to-night, so that we might visit an old château. Presently the Admiral arrived and preceded us in a fine large boat,—we following with the three eldest children and the ladies and gentlemen (the three youngest remaining to go on shore with the governesses). Rowed up under salutes and the well-known *fanfare*, or *Battre aux armes* of the different guards of honour. The reception was half private—no troops being drawn up—but all the generals and officers of different kinds were there; General Borel, in high boots, and on horseback, riding near our carriage. We and the two girls were in the Admiral's little open carriage—the ladies and gentlemen and officers, in others, following. The docks and "bassins" —of which there are three enormous ones in course of con-

[1] This and the subsequent quotations are taken from Her Majesty's Diary.

struction—are magnificent, formed of the finest granite of the country, and all executed in the best manner.

'It makes me very unhappy to see what is done here, and how well protected the works are, for the forts and the breakwater (which is treble the size of the Plymouth one) are extremely well defended. We got out twice to examine the construction, and look at the enormous depth of the docks. There are at least 8,000 workmen employed, and already millions have been spent. The works were commenced in the time of Louis XIV. We then proceeded through the town—leaving the arsenal and fortifications, and passing by the *Corderie* (rope manufactory)—and ascended a hill outside the town. The town itself is very picturesque, but small, humble, and thoroughly foreign-looking; streets narrow, "*pavé*" bad; all the windows, without exception, casements, opening quite back, leaving the whole space open, as if there were no windows, and with outside shutters. All the women in caps, many in the regular costume caps—many in smaller ones, and wearing full woollen petticoats and aprons, generally dark blue or violet—also coloured handkerchiefs. With hardly an exception, the caps were of dazzling white. Some (in mourning evidently) in black, with black ribbons round their caps. Very friendly, and making a great noise; many nice fat children and babies. . . . We wound up a hill, looking over a beautiful country, to an old deserted fort called "*Fort d'Octeville*," where we all got out and scrambled up, and looked over the town and port, with the beautiful blue sea—a very fine sight—and the view very extensive. An extremely hot sun and no air.'

Re-entering the carriage the Royal party returned 'through the best part of the town to the *Port Militaire*, by the *Casernes des Equipages* (sailors' barracks, of which we have none whatever), before which was drawn up "le 42^{me}" Regi-

ment, which had been in the Crimea, with "Sapeurs'" band playing *Partant pour la Syrie*, and the well-known *Battre aux armes*, all (to me and to Vicky, too) so pretty, so pleasant to hear again; many soldiers, a few officers and even some sailors, with my Crimean medals, which both the Emperor and Prince Napoleon told us had given the greatest satisfaction. A great treat for Alice. We were preceded all the way by two "gendarmes" on horseback. Got back to Port, re-embarked, and were on board our *swimming home* by twelve. The very civil *Préfet Maritime* escorted us back.'

Immediately afterwards the Prince went to make a thorough inspection of the breakwater and other engineering works, which, we shall hereafter see, impressed him profoundly by their magnitude, and by the danger, in the event of a rupture with France, to which England might consequently be exposed from the want of any naval arsenals of similar strength and importance. The Diary continues: 'We lunched at two. The three younger children—delighted with their expedition—had seen town, shopped, seen soldiers, forts, &c. Arthur much excited. . . . At three we left with precisely the same party as in the morning; landed at same place, and got into an open *char-à-bancs*, with three seats and drawn by four horses. Albert and Mr. Hammond in front, I and Vicky next, Alice and Affie behind. The regular French *poste*, driven by one *postillon* on the wheel horse, harnessed with ropes, no springs to carriage, so that we bumped along on the pavement pretty roughly. The others were in two carriages following, closed, odd sort of carriages, each with a pair of horses. Drove through town, streets much fuller, some flags out, people very friendly, calling *Vive la Reine d'Angleterre*, and the post-boys making a terrible noise, cracking and flourishing their whips. We drove to Bricquebec, twenty-two kilomètres from Cherbourg; and by Octeville, a very small village,

along a beautiful hilly, rich wooded country, with corn-fields, but very small ones, and literally not one village, only detached cottages and farms, some close to the road. Everything most picturesque and primitive—all the women in white caps, often with children in their arms, but many weighed down with the weight of corn which they carried on their backs; many sitting and resting on the door-sill, knitting; children running about, lattices open, showing in some cottages nice pewter-pots and platters, loaves, and here and there a ruddy, healthy *paysanne*, with her snow-white cap, looking at the strangely filled carriages passing before her. The horses and carts most picturesque, with sheepskins over them. The road, quite straight, turning to neither right nor left after leaving Octeville, up and down the long steep hills, so that a sort of drag had to be constantly let down on both sides to keep back the wheel. Intensely hot and dusty, but too delightfully interesting for one to feel tired. We could hardly believe we were really driving in this quiet way in France.

'Half of the way the country was very like Devonshire. Beautiful beech and elm trees, and everything very green, and thoroughly *champêtre* and unsophisticated. . . . It grew later and later, and it seemed as though we should never reach our destination. At length, at the bottom of a hill, surmounted by the high old tower of the château, appeared the little town of Bricquebec. Most picturesque, the outskirts with good houses, well-dressed *paysannes* and fat babies at doors and windows. Then came a narrow street with shops, two old figures of saints in a conspicuous place, and people working and knitting at doors; picturesque groups without end. We stopped at an old narrow gateway and walked into the yard of the old château, part of which is now a very humble country inn called *Le Vieux Château*; and close to the gateway rises the very high old château. Got out, had very

tired horses to feed, walked about, and finally climbed portion of castle, and went into the only portion of the interior which remains entire. The château is of the date of the eleventh century, and very curious. The somewhat tipsy mayor of the town conducted us over it; and then, as our horses had to rest, we walked a little about the outskirts, and began to be surrounded by the *gamins*, *moutards*, and little beggar-boys of the village.

'By the time we returned to the inn, the inhabitants of the village came up and surrounded us, chatting away and staring at and rather mobbing us. The horses, to our despair, not yet being rested, we decided to wait in a room upstairs—a small one with two beds—where we sat with the children and ladies, Vicky and I sketching the picturesque women and children standing below, in agony how and when we were to get back. It was near seven before we got into our carriage. We had only three horses, and fearing the others could not keep up with us, and wishing to be back as soon as possible, having people to dinner, we took Colonel Biddulph and Lady Jocelyn into our carriage, instead of Affie and Mr. Hammond.

'The drive back was charming, sun setting, air deliciously fresh, and horses getting along very well. Many people coming home or at their supper. At last we stopped to light our lanterns at Montinvart, a third part of the way. Most amusing to see people running out with candles, which they held up trying to get a sight of us. Great crowd at Octeville, when we stopped to adjust harness, and many gathering round and trying to see "*qui est donc la Reine?*" Cherbourg very full, but very dark, streets only lit by a lantern here and there slung across. Drove on to Port, and then pushed with great difficulty into barge, through a loudly talking crowd; and left General Bouverie with a lantern in his hand on the steps. People cheering.

'Long past nine when we got back, only to dinner at a quarter to ten! Général d'Herbillon (who sat next to me), Général Borel, and the Admiral, dined with us. Général d'Herbillon is an agreeable man, very dark and weather-beaten; he talked much of the Crimean War, and of their having lost 90,000 men! He was fifteen years in Algeria without coming home. It was nearly eleven when dinner was over, and we retired shortly afterwards. Beautiful night. This expedition, the object of many wishes of mine, had been delightful. Some singers came out in a steamer and sang very prettily. Strange to say, hardly a single boat came out while we were in the harbour. In an English port, we should have been beset with them.'

Next morning (21st) by half-past nine the Royal yacht steamed out of Cherbourg, to which the Royal visitors bade a reluctant adieu, and reaching Alderney by eleven, the Prince went ashore with Prince Alfred to inspect the forts, while the Queen with the rest of the children rowed round the harbour and inspected the breakwater. By half-past one the yacht was again under way, and Osborne was reached after a delightful sail upon a smooth and smiling sea by half-past seven in the evening.

The Queen found the Emperor of the French's letter of the 15th above quoted waiting her return. In replying to that letter (21st August) Her Majesty thus speaks of her recent peaceful invasion of Normandy: 'We have had a most interesting and agreeable visit to Cherbourg. The works are magnificent, of a colossal grandeur, and the road-stead is admirable. The authorities were most attentive to us, and wherever we were recognised (for we wished to be as much *in private* as possible) nothing could be kinder than the population. We made a little improvised excursion into the interior, *en chars-à-bancs*, with post-horses, and it amused

us all greatly. The country is superb, and it is so delightful, in these days of a civilisation that brings all things to one common level, to find a population simple and primitive, and still truly rustic, and regions not yet spoiled by contact with railways. Normandy is very pretty, and full for us of interesting reminiscences, as we regard it as the cradle of England.'

In writing to Baron Stockmar the same day the Prince says:—

'We made a very delightful run to Cherbourg and Alderney. Cherbourg is a gigantic work that gives one grave cause for reflection. The works at Alderney by way of counter-defence look childish. We were received by the natives of Normandy with great enthusiasm. An affinity of race between them and the English is still perceptible there.'

What they had seen of Cherbourg, and of the uses to which it might be turned in the event of a war with France, made both the Queen and Prince tenfold more anxious,—and they had long been most anxious—about our means both on land and at sea for opposing any sudden descent upon our shores. Her Majesty accordingly lost no time in calling for detailed reports of the progress that had been made with the works of defence at Portsmouth and elsewhere which had been for some time under construction, of the number of ships in commission, and of the time necessary to man and equip the others for service. The Prince applied himself to this subject during the present autumn with more than his usual energy. The first step towards improvement was gained by the true state of affairs being ascertained, and the advantage to the country was again visible of having by the Queen's side a counsellor with the sagacity and firmness to select and call for details on which a policy could be based, and to direct the attention of

the Cabinet to results, which, in the exhausting toil of carrying on the business of their departments from day to day, might otherwise have been overlooked. How the Prince's services in this matter were appreciated by one of the ablest statesmen of the time may be seen from the following letter to him from Lord Clarendon, when two months after the return from Cherbourg, the various reports which had been called for by the Queen were brought under his lordship's notice :—

'I have read these reports,' he wrote (23rd October) 'with great attention and with great regret, not unmixed, however, with satisfaction, as I believe that they will establish a starting point for improvements. No one responsible for the honour and safety of the country can read such an account of our shortcomings and unpreparedness without determining to place our only means of defence upon a better footing. I consider that by calling for specific returns, such as never were made before, your Royal Highness has got in the fine end of the wedge, and that it will be *driven home* by the few more knocks which your Royal Highness will not fail to give. When Lord Palmerston comes to town, I will privately but most urgently appeal to his sense of duty upon this *vital* question.'

The Queen's and Prince's anxiety on this subject was not a little increased by further alarming news from India, which they found awaiting them on their return from France. The Prince's Diary at this time contains frequent allusions to their endeavours to impress upon the Ministry the necessity for making greater efforts than were on foot for sending reinforcements to India. Neither the Queen nor himself could get rid of the apprehension that the state of things there was likely to go from bad to worse, unless the full force of the British arm was put forth, and put forth quickly. The tidings of the next few weeks confirmed their worst fears, and dissipated the delusions of those who had treated the rising in India as involving no serious danger to our

hold upon the country, and requiring no extraordinary exertion to suppress.

On the 27th the Court returned to London for the Council for the Queen's Speech, and the opportunity was taken to discuss this all-important question personally with the leading members of the Cabinet. Next day Parliament was prorogued by Commission, and the Queen in her Speech was able to congratulate its members that the session, though a short one, had produced many Acts of great importance, including among others that for amending the Law of Divorce, which had been carried after much animated controversy in both Houses.

The same day the Court left London for Balmoral, which was reached on the evening of the 29th. There the details awaited them of the destruction of General Wheeler and the garrison at Cawnpore, and of some of the ghastly incidents of Nana Sahib's treachery and cruelty. They also learned that General Havelock had been despatched to retrieve that disaster—a service in which he was to make his name 'on fame's eternal bede-roll shine for aye,'—and that the Home Government had determined to raise fifteen instead of ten battalions, as formerly proposed, and to increase the numbers of the militia to be called out from 10,000 to 15,000. Not an hour too soon; for within the next fortnight came the full tidings of the calamities at Cawnpore and Lucknow, of the continued resistance of Delhi, and the first intelligence of the spread of the mutiny to Southern India.

Two days after the arrival at Balmoral (2nd September) the Queen wrote to the King of the Belgians:—

'We are in sad anxiety about India, which engrosses all our attention. Troops cannot be raised largely or fast enough; and the horrors committed on the poor ladies, women and children, are unknown in these ages, and make

one's blood run cold. Altogether the whole is so much more distressing than the Crimea, where there was glory and honourable warfare, and where the poor women and children were safe. Then the distance and the difficulty of communication are such an additional suffering to us all! I know you will feel much for us. There is hardly a family that is not in sorrow and anxiety about their children, and in all ranks, India being the place where every one was anxious to establish a son.'

On the 7th the Prince writes to his friend at Coburg, full of misgiving as to the means taken to grapple with the difficulty. The tidings of the spread of the mutiny to the South had not yet reached England:—

'I have not hitherto written to you from the Highlands, where all is lovely and peaceful, and my only want frequent tidings that you are well. Unhappily this is not to be. I believe change of air and place would do you good, even were it only from Marisfeld to Coburg. Monotony of place is in your case, unfortunately, prejudicial, as in the struggle of the nerves with the body you require to support and back up the nerves in every way, and you are more susceptible to mental and spiritual influence than you are to medicine.

'You probably smile at my medical dissertation, but even if it only makes you do that, it will have done some good.

'The Indian news continue very bad, and cause us much anxiety. Our military organisations for averting disasters so great are quite inadequate, and we have to bully and extort what is necessary from the Ministry bit by bit.

'Palmerston is once more possessed by all his juvenile levity. It is the misfortune of all speakers in large assemblies, that, because fluency and a certain patriotic tone produce a great effect there, and gain great applause, nay even political influence, they imagine they have mastered

the essentials of actual fact, which, however, give themselves no concern whatever about mere talk. The French Convention and the Pauluskirche[1] are the latest and most striking illustrations. I cannot sit quietly and see such things.'

Writing again upon the 12th, the Prince makes further allusion to the inadequacy of our military preparations:—

'From India we are expecting a telegram hourly; the news it brings can scarcely be good.

'We are expending all the resources which are within our command. How these are to be replaced or made to answer the purpose is another question.

'We heard from Bertie yesterday from Chamounix; he had paid a visit to the Mer de Glace under the guidance of Albert Smith, who happened to be there, is well, and had walked twenty miles the previous day.

'Here we are literally washed away by the rain, which has been falling, more or less, all the time we have been here.'

The 'hourly expected' telegram here mentioned realised the Queen and Prince's worst fears. It told that Delhi still held out, that the garrison immured in Lucknow was still unrelieved, and that several regiments had mutinied in the Bombay Presidency. The terrible story of the massacres at Cawnpore was also reported in all its ghastly horrors. The alarm throughout this country, an alarm mingled with fierce indignation, spread even to members of the Cabinet, who had hitherto taken the most sanguine view of the situation. More energetic measures of relief were set on foot, and at the same time Lord Palmerston, who, as a rule, was chary, and justly so, of the use of special days of fast and humiliation, proposed to the Archbishop of Canterbury that a day

[1] Where the sittings of the National German Parliament were held in 1848–9.

should be set apart for this purpose.[2] After acknowledging Lord Palmerston's letter (15th September) communicating what had been resolved on, Her Majesty, writing on the 18th, says:—

'She is glad that he should have suggested to the Archbishop a Sunday for the prayer.

'The Indian news, upon every further development, justifies less and less the opinion that it is rather favourable than otherwise, and leading to the hope that affairs will soon take a favourable turn in India.

'It is evident from a comparison of the news with the map that, whereas hitherto the seat of the mutiny was Oude, Delhi, and the Upper Ganges,—to which localities all troops have been despatched—it has now broken out in their rear, cutting them off from the base of operation, viz., Calcutta, and that it has reached the gates of the seat of Government itself. On the other hand, it has moved down from Delhi in a south-westerly direction towards Bombay, and the defection of the first Bombay regiment gives serious cause for apprehension as to the future of that army. The Queen cannot understand how a single Bengal regiment can be left undisbanded; but from the news of new mutinies in the rear of our forces on the Ganges, it is quite clear that this must be so. Our troops are sure to remain victorious against the Sepoys in the open field, if numbers be not too disproportionate, if they be not badly led, or physically reduced by sickness or fatigue; the latter, however, being much to be apprehended. But the difficulty will be to get a proper "ensemble" into the military movements, and this will hardly be the case unless an army be formed at Calcutta strong enough to operate from thence with certainty upon

[2] It was kept on the 7th of October, with great solemnity throughout the country, and announced to have been appointed 'in consideration of the grievous mutiny and disturbances which have broken out in India.'

the parts of the country in revolt, and serving as a "*point d'appui*" for the scattered forces. Our reinforcements, dropping in one by one, run the risk of being cut up by being sent on to relieve the different stray columns in distress.

'When Lord Palmerston speaks of the reinforcements arriving which are to give a favourable turn to affairs, has he considered, that the first which were despatched by the Government to India (exclusive of the Chinese expedition of 5,000 men diverted to it, and now there) will arrive only in October? The time lost in the arrangements, in taking up shipping, &c., brought their departure to July. There will be, therefore, two whole months, August and September, when the Indian Government will get no relief whatever, while fighting, marching, &c., lose to them often as much as 500 men in a day.

'These are the considerations which make the Queen so anxious about early decisions and immediate steps at home; for while we are putting off decisions in the vain *hope* that matters will mend, and in discussing the objections to different measures, the mischief is rapidly progressing, and the time difficult to catch up again. . . .

'The Queen would wish Lord Palmerston to show this letter to the Cabinet.'

The next intelligence from India was not more favourable. It told that General Havelock had for the second time been compelled to fall back without having relieved Lucknow, and that no satisfactory progress had been made in expelling the mutineers from Delhi. So general had the alarm become, that an intimation reached our Government that France was about to ask for leave to send out a considerable reinforcement of French troops for the protection of the French settlement at Pondicherry. It was thought better to make the offer of

the necessary permission than to wait for the request to be made; and, indeed, the Emperor of the French had shown throughout this time of trial a disposition so truly friendly as to merit this frankness of treatment. An offer of assistance to England in the form of two Belgian regiments was even made by the friendly government of Belgium.[3] England would not, however, have been so daunted by even greater perils, as to acknowledge that she could not fight her own battles alone. But having set her mind to do so, and, in the phrase used by Lord Palmerston at the time, to 'win off her own bat,' it was all the more necessary that effectual means should be adopted 'to meet the greatest difficulties that any nation in ancient or modern times had ever had to contend against.' The words just quoted occur in a letter (28th September) from Lord Clarendon to the Queen, in which he says:—

'Lord Clarendon thinks that the complexion of the Indian news is decidedly unfavourable. The best that can be said of it is, that things appear to be *on the whole* stationary, which is all we can hope for until reinforcements arrive; but it is horrible to think of the 1,000 Europeans shut up in Lucknow, and besieged by the monster Nana Sahib, short of provisions, and with no immediate prospect of relief.'

Such was the state of suspense and uncertainty when the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar on the last day of September:—

'I hear that you have returned to Coburg, but not with the vigour and spirits which I had wished for you, and on

[3] This is mentioned in Mr. Evelyn Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 140, and he says that 'some in places of authority appeared to favour the idea.' Certainly none whose authority would have been of any avail. Lord Palmerston said, with his usual sound English feeling, in writing to Lord Clarendon (29th September): 'The more I think of it the more I feel it is necessary for our standing and reputation in the world, that we should put down this mutiny and restore order by our own means, and I am perfectly certain that we can do it, and that we shall do it.'

which I had confidently reckoned. Would I might be with you for a while, to talk over many topics in which we both take an equal interest. Under present circumstances we can scarcely count upon finding you at Windsor when we arrive, which will be on the 16th. If your son carries out the project on which we have set our hearts, of meeting us there at that time, he will give us news of you. Perhaps he may be able to fetch you from Coburg at a later date, for I cannot forego the hope of having you with us before Christmas and at Vicky's marriage.

'We are tortured by the events in India, which are truly frightful! The distance and the double government of Crown and Company make all remedial measures extremely difficult and slow. Our first considerable reinforcements will not arrive in India before the middle of October; our latest intelligence thence is dated August. What may not have happened in the interval! It has already been found necessary to disarm a leading Madras regiment. Three Bombay regiments have mutinied; the whole Bengal army, between 80 and 90,000 men, is in arms against us, and in possession of the arsenals, &c. On the other hand, our regiments are dispersed in companies, in order to maintain tranquillity and England's *prestige* at all points, to enforce payment of the revenue, and to protect or to save the lives of Europeans. The individual columns have to contend with tremendous difficulties. . . .'

The friendly disposition of the Emperor of the French was further shown by the way he dealt with our proposal to send a portion of the troops to India through Egypt. Lord Cowley informed Count Walewski that we intended to apply to the Porte for leave to do this. Count Walewski at once said that he was sure the Emperor would be glad to hear it. The Emperor was then away at Stuttgart, to meet the

Emperor of Russia, but a few days afterwards the French Ambassador in London, Baron de Malaret, read to Lord Clarendon a despatch from Count Walewski, stating, as Lord Clarendon wrote to the Queen the same day (8th October):—

'That the Emperor would cause the Sultan and the Pasha to be informed of the pleasure with which he would hear of facilities being afforded to your Majesty's troops in passing through Egypt, and that he was quite willing that they should pass through France, if it would be any convenience or likely to accelerate their arrival in India. This is certainly a friendly proposal, as the Emperor must know that it would not be very popular in France. Lord C. told Baron de Malaret that it could not fail to be gratifying to your Majesty, but that for various reasons it was not probable that your Majesty's Government would avail themselves of the Emperor's generous offer.'

The same hearty interest in the measures taken by England to re-establish the tranquillity of India was shown by the Emperor throughout. When the tidings of the capture of Delhi on the 30th of September reached Europe, he was among the first to congratulate the Queen, which he did by the following telegram from Compiègne:—*Octobre* 26, 1857.—*L'Impératrice et moi, nous félicitons cordialement sa Majesté de la prise de Delhi.*

CHAPTER LXXXI.

THE interview between the Emperor of Russia and the Emperor of the French, which the Prince mentions in his letter of the 18th of May (*supra*, p. 52), that Baron Brunnow was busily arranging for, took place at Stuttgart on the 25th of September. The agents of each Government gave out that the meeting had been sought for by the other. However this might be, the fact was indisputable, that the Czar had come to Germany to make the personal acquaintance of him, to whom the title 'Mon Frère,' due to a sovereign by the courtesy of European Courts, had formerly been ostentatiously refused by his father and himself. Not only so, but the Empress of All the Russias came a day after the Czar to Stuttgart to meet the Emperor of the French, who had refused to go to Darmstadt to be introduced to her. In all this there was enough to make the political world busy with conjecture, and curiosity was still further excited when it became known that the Emperor of Austria had a few days afterwards met the Emperor of Russia, having gone to Weimar for the purpose. 'What all these proceedings have resulted in,' says the Prince in his Diary, 'nobody knows, neither will it be very easy to discover.'

Nevertheless, not many days elapsed before our Government were in possession of pretty full details of all that had taken place. The *parvenu* Emperor, thrown, for the first time, into the midst of the royalties of the *Almanach de Gotha*, had distinguished himself by great self-possession and dignity,

bearing himself, as one of the shrewdest female observers of her time said, 'like a thorough gentleman,' holding his own, and showing no eagerness to seize at the advances made to him, which might well have turned the steadiest head. He was found to be impervious to all inducements to a breach of the English alliance, and the repeated assurances given by Prince Gortschakoff, who accompanied his master, to those around him in the words, '*Nous sommes très-contents*,' were construed, as such assurances were certain to be, in precisely the opposite sense. In fact, the meeting had been productive of no political results.

There was more of triumph for Russia in having brought the Emperor of Austria to seek an interview at a court which had recently been loudly Russian in its sympathies, with the Sovereign who had throughout the Crimean struggles made bitter complaint against Austria's ingratitude. Prince Gortschakoff did not conceal his satisfaction at this achievement, and took care to protest that the meeting had been conceded only on the Emperor of Austria's request, with the object, first, of setting at rest the mind of Germany, which was disquieted about the interview at Stuttgart, and next of making the Emperor of Austria aware, that from that hour the Treaty of Paris was a dead letter ('*pour faire bien comprendre à l'Empereur d'Autriche, que désormais ce traité est lettre morte*'). In the interview in which these words were used, which Prince Gortschakoff knew would be transmitted to Lord Clarendon, he asked his companion what he thought of India. The reply was, that the success of the English was certain, and that they would afterwards be more powerful there than ever. 'This is my opinion, too,' said Prince Gortschakoff, and went on to declare that 'he loved the English, their energy, their constancy, even their institutions.'

In speaking the same day (25th September) to a very distinguished person, extracts from whose Journal are pre-

served among the Prince Consort's papers, Prince Gortschakoff said: '*Nous ne sommes pour rien dans les malheurs des Indes*,' which, says the Diarist, 'shows that they are,'—an application of the aphorism *qui s'excuse s'accuse*, not likely to have been rashly arrived at by the acute political observer to whom Prince Gortschakoff's assurance was given.

Amid all the anxieties caused by the state of affairs both in Europe and in India, the Queen and Prince were being daily reminded that the time was fast approaching when a great void would take place in their family circle. The marriage of the Crown Prince had been fixed for the end of the ensuing January, and the Princess, as a child of the home, was now about to bid adieu to the dear familiar scenes and associations of Balmoral. 'Vicky,' the Prince wrote to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg, 'suffers under the feeling that every spot she visits she has to greet for the last time as *home*. As I look on, the "*Johanna sagt euch Lebewohl!*" of the *Maid of Orleans* comes frequently into my mind.[1] It has been my lot to go through the same experiences.'[2]

Again, in a letter written to the same correspondent, the day the Court left Balmoral (14th October) the Prince says:—

'The departure from here will be a great trial to us all, especially to Vicky, who leaves it for good and all; and the good simple Highlanders, who are very fond of us, are constantly saying to her, and often with tears, "I suppose

[1] The words quoted by the Prince occur in Schiller's *Maid of Orleans*, act i. sc. 4:—

> Farewell, ye hills, ye meadows that I love,
> Ye quiet homely valleys, fare ye well!
> No more among you will Johanna roam,
> Johanna bids you evermore Farewell!

[2] In the same letter the Prince says: 'Has —— decided what is to be the young man's occupation? *Without a vocation man is incapable of complete development and real happiness.*'

we shall never see you again!" which naturally makes her feel still more keenly. . . .

'The Indian news are not worse, and therefore better; it is, however, a fearful state of things. Since the Polish revolution no army has mutinied against its own government; in the present case it is 200,000 men strong, against whom 24,000 Englishmen have to maintain a kingdom of 200 millions of men of different races and religions! The task is well nigh superhuman, but it will be nobly performed.'

Before leaving Balmoral the Prince kept Baron Stockmar apprised of what was taking place in the Royal home in the following letter:—

'We leave this dear place to-morrow for the south, and my heart impels me to write to you once more before our departure, although, nay, *because* I have not heard from you for so long. The first day we go to Haddo House, to pay good old Aberdeen a visit, at which he is greatly pleased. On the 16th we are to be at Windsor, where we expect Fritz of Prussia on the 17th. How that will be now, considering the serious illness of the King,[3] we do not know. I confess, that although we can ascertain little directly as to the King's state, I have an impression that his dissolution may be expected. His case strongly resembles that of poor Charles [Prince Leiningen] last autumn. If he dies, great changes will ensue in Prussia. What shape things may take, it is impossible for any one to predict, not even those who are at the head of affairs. Even on the position of our young couple the influence will be considerable.

'The tenor of our Indian news is not worse, and that is something gained, for the first reinforcements of the troops,

[3] The King of Prussia had been seized with an attack of congestion of the brain a few days before.

both from the Cape and from here, are beginning to arrive, and the cooler season will soon set in. I therefore cherish the hope that the worst is over, although there are hard struggles before us yet. Regiments are still constantly passing over to the mutineers, which had volunteered to be led against them. They fight very bravely on our side, but all at once massacre their officers, and take up their position on the other side. Here recruiting goes on well—1,200 men per week.

'The Prince of Wales is to arrive at Windsor on the 20th. All the reports about his tour and its influence upon himself are of the most cheering kind.

'Alfred goes to Alverbank near Portsmouth [4] when we get back. For Arthur I have engaged a Captain Elphinstone of the Engineers, who promises well,[5] but is not to come till the beginning of 1859, when Gibbs leaves Bertie, and an alteration in his position takes place. Who is to succeed him with Bertie, we have not yet been able to decide.' [6]

On the 16th the Court returned to Windsor, the Queen and Prince having passed a night at Haddo House, on the way, upon a visit, long promised, to Lord Aberdeen. Better news from India were now beginning to arrive. The capture of Delhi on the 20th of September was announced, and a fresh series of brilliant victories by General Havelock. On the 24th the Prince writes to Baron Stockmar:—'The news from India are decidedly better, that is to say, the mischief is not increasing, while our resources for averting it are at work on the spot. Our poor troops have again behaved wonderfully,

[4] To carry on his naval studies. Alverbank was the house of the late Right Hon. John Wilson Croker.

[5] Now Sir Howard Elphinstone, K.C.B. He had greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Sebastopol. He superintended the education of the Duke of Connaught up to manhood.

[6] Mr. Gibbs was succeeded in 1858 by Lord Elgin's brother, General the Honourable Robert Bruce.

everywhere. General Havelock has fought nine battles, frequently with 800 men against 10,000, in which he captured 66 guns in the open field.'

The presence of the Baron in England to assist in the arrangements for the approaching marriage of the Princess Royal had been confidently looked for. But the Baron was seriously ill, and unable to travel. What regret this caused in the Royal household may be seen from another passage in the same letter :—

'Your son arrived safely yesterday evening. Delighted as I was to see him again, it gave me a spasm at the heart to find him alone and without you in your old room, which he occupies in your absence. The feeling must have been general, for little Leopold said to Miss Hildyard, "I have seen Baron Stockmar, but it is not my old Baron." To her question, whether he would not write to you, he replied, "Yes, but he won't remember me." Your son, I grieve to say, gives no better account of your state, and especially of your general health (*Wohlfühlung*).'

The hope of seeing the Baron at the marriage was still cherished. But it was destined to be disappointed, greatly to the chagrin of the Princess Royal, who returned warmly the affection entertained by the kind old man for herself, as well as of the parents, who had the best reasons for knowing how precious his counsels would have been to the Princess in preparing her for the new sphere in which her future life was to be spent.

Early in November the Queen and Prince sustained a loss which threw a deep shadow for a time over their home life, in the sudden death at Claremont of their first-cousin the Duchess of Nemours. A princess of the house of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the Duchess, who was born on the 16th of February, 1822, 'had since her infancy been the playmate

and intimate friend of the Prince Consort. The peculiar sweetness of her temper, her deep and affectionate feelings, her strong and sterling sense, her kind and loving heart, had endeared her to both.' She was married in April 1840, to the second son of the King of the French; 'and, in that high position, she won the hearts of even those who, in that sceptical country, are lukewarm in acknowledging and admiring virtue and beauty, when they adorn a royal brow.'[7]

On the 28th of October the Duchess had been delivered of a girl, and her recovery had appeared to be steady and rapid. She had, however, 'a presentiment of her death, against which she fought with great courage and decision of character. When, on the tenth day after her confinement, the doctor congratulated her on the restoration of her health, she said to him: "*Ah, Docteur, ne chantons pas victoire trop tôt.*"' The same day she was seen by the Queen. On the 10th of November, the Prince, who had been out for the morning shooting at Bagshot, found on returning to Windsor Castle a message from the Duc de Nemours awaiting him with the tidings 'that Victoire had suddenly dropped dead at nine o'clock the same morning while making her toilette.' (*Prince's Diary.*) The Castle was full of guests. They all left at once. The official reception of the Siamese Ambassadors, appointed for that day, was postponed. This latter fact was announced in the *Court Circular*, which also told, to use the words of M. Van de Weyer, 'that during the celebration of the Princess Royal's birthday, the last which is likely to take place before her departure from her native country, the usual commemoration had been curtailed of all its accustomed festivities. But the public

[7] The words cited in the text are the words of one who knew the Duchess well—the late M. Silvain Van de Weyer, in a letter to the *Morning Post* (20th November, 1857), written with the delicacy of touch and charm of style of which that distinguished and most loveable man was a great master. The letter is reprinted in M. Van de Weyer's *Opuscules*, vol. iv. London, 1876.

little suspected how deep has been the grief concealed under these formal announcements.'

When the sad intelligence reached Windsor Castle the Queen was in the act of writing to King Leopold. Here are the words in which the letter was continued :—

'So far I had written when the awful news from Claremont reached us. Dear Uncle, what dreadful recollections this will bring back to your mind! What a fatality seems to hang over poor Claremont, particularly on those occasions; what a fate seems to pursue that unhappy family! Albert feels it most deeply; he had a most brotherly affection for her, grew up with her, and she was so fond of him, always brightening up and laughing when she saw him, and they talked over old times. Since his poor papa's and grandmama's death, I have not seen him so overcome, so cast down, as he was yesterday, when he returned from the house of mourning, having witnessed he heart-rending despair of that poor unhappy Nemours, and the cold but beautiful form of our loved Victoire. We were like sisters, bore the same name, married the same year, our children are the same age; there was in short a similarity between us, which since 1839 united us closely and tenderly.

'Now one of us is gone—passed as a rose full-blown and faded—from this earth to eternity, there to rest in peace and joy.'

It was not till the 13th that the Prince could command sufficient composure to give to his friend, who had witnessed at Claremont in November 1817 a catastrophe no less sad, the full particulars of the Duchess's death :—

'The fresh disaster to which eventful November has given rise in eventful Claremont will have caused you deep emotion. I thought at once of you and of the old wounds, which the similarity of the circumstances would re-open in your

heart, just forty years and four days since poor Uncle lost his darling wife in child-bed. Nemours has lost his dear, to us all so dear, Victoire! in the room nearly above that in which the Princess Charlotte died.

'Her confinement passed off well on the 28th of last month, and every one was doubly rejoiced at this, because Victoire had herself entertained the gloomiest misgivings, and constantly expressed her conviction that she would be borne to the grave. The old Queen and Nemours visited us here, and even expressed their joy, that now the curse was taken from their house, that a healthy child had been born at Claremont, and that the mother was in excellent health. On the 7th, after the lapse of nine days, Victoria visited Victoire. Not only had not the slightest symptom of indisposition been observed, but everything had taken its regular course. The Paris doctor had declared her convalescent, and in leaving reminded her how foolish her apprehensions had been. She replied, "*Il ne faut pas triompher trop tôt.*" Victoria found her looking aged and drawn, and not like a patient who was making a rapid recovery, and ascribed this to the French treatment. On the morning of the 10th about half-past nine (on the 13th day therefore), having been *coiffée*, she was seated upon the bed and had told her dresser, who wanted to rub her feet, to cease doing so, as they were quite warm, and now she was quite well, this as a rule was no longer necessary, and that she was allowed to get up the next day. They asked her if she would like to see the new dress which she was to wear the following day. "Certainly," she replied, "*car demain je me ferai belle.*" She had the dress in one hand, when suddenly she exclaimed, "*Oh, mon Dieu, madame*——" She was unable to finish the sentence, her head fell on one side, and life had left her! Poor Nemours was reading *The Times* to his mother in the room below, and alarmed by the footsteps of the women over-

head, rushed upstairs, and found her hand already growing cold!

'I hurried over that afternoon to the house of mourning, and words cannot picture the woeful spectacle which met me there. Nemours quite crushed and stunned; the body of good dear Victoire pale and rigid, but like an angel of beauty, her glorious hair falling in waves over her bosom, and in the adjoining room the baby in rosy unconscious slumber. I was deeply moved, and not less so was Victoria, who drove over with me the next day. Victoire was the playfellow of my youth, she was Victoria's friend from girlhood; goodness, gentleness, unassuming sweetness, and love itself! To-morrow her body will be laid in the little vault at Weybridge beside that of King Louis Philippe! I shall join in paying her the last honours.

'The relaxing treatment, so antagonistic to our English principles, which, instead of lending support and strength to the frame, rather disarms and makes it unfit for the struggle it has to encounter, may very likely have contributed to the catastrophe.

'I have gone into all these details, because I know they will interest you. Misery like this makes us doubly grateful to God, who has hitherto shielded us so graciously.

'The latest intelligence from Delhi and Lucknow leads us to anticipate a happy issue to our struggles. Still we have to mourn a fearful number of victims.

'Fritz is to come to us on the 16th or 17th; no change has been made as to the marriage day. Your son makes himself extremely useful.'

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The profound emotion of the Prince at the funeral of the Duchess was observed by all the bystanders, and, when at the last and most affecting part of the funeral ceremony, M. Van de Weyer writes, 'a wreath of immortelles was deposited

by an equerry on the coffin, everybody felt whose hand and heart had prepared that last and touching tribute to departed worth and beauty, so prematurely snatched, by the inscrutable will of God, from a world where so much good had been quietly achieved by their possessor.'

The Prince's letter drew the following rejoinder from Baron Stockmar, in whom 'the years that bring the philosophic mind' had not deadened his native tenderness of heart:—

'The recent event at Claremont has touched old wounds, and thrown me into a state of great depression. In youth, though we may be inclined to think the transitoriness and nothingness of earthly life is dwelt upon in the Bible too sternly and too exclusively, this view does not last into old age, which, in its juster appreciation of these matters, is in perfect harmony with the expressions of Scripture.

'For this mood of mind, which is sure to force itself upon every thinking and feeling man as he grows old, there is only one solace, and this young people should secure and lay up for themselves, by doing the Good and Right which every day places before them to do.'[8]

To this letter the Prince replied (28th November) as follows:—

'I was greatly pleased to see your handwriting again, and to observe in it all its former firmness. Let me conclude from this, that you are better.

'That the calamity at Claremont would move you greatly,

[8] These words recall a beautiful passage in one of the letters of Stockmar's last years (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 54): 'Were I now to be asked by any young man just entering into life, What is the chief good for which it behoves a man to strive? my only answer would be, Love and Friendship! Were he to ask me, What is a man's most priceless possession? I must answer, The consciousness of having loved and sought the truth—of having yearned for the truth for its own sake! All else is either mere vanity or a sick man's dream.'

I was sure. It is one of those incomprehensible events, to the reality of which time can alone habituate us. . . .'

He then refers to the great financial crisis, which made the autumn of this year memorable in the commercial world, and led to the temporary suspension of the provisions of the Bank Charter Act of 1844. Failure had followed failure, not only of private firms, but of provincial banks in Scotland as well as England, which had hitherto borne a high reputation. The total liabilities of these were computed at upwards of forty millions. The rate of interest at the Bank of England, which on the 8th of October was 5½ per cent., had risen by the 9th of November to 9 per cent. By the 11th of that month the bullion in the same Bank was reduced to a little over seven millions, while its notes in circulation and liabilities on deposits and otherwise were above sixty millions. To meet the emergency the Government authorised the Bank to extend their circulation by two millions beyond the limits authorised by the Act of 1844, and intimated that they would propose to Parliament on its meeting a Bill of Indemnity for this violation of the law. The effect of this step in restoring confidence was such that the Bank required to put into circulation only 928,000*l.* beyond its legal limits, and even this sum was replaced, and a considerable reserve established, by the 1st of December. Public confidence was further strengthened by the intimation, that Parliament was to be forthwith summoned to consider the financial condition of the country. The Prince seems to have formed a just estimate of the true causes of the crisis, and of its probable results. He writes:—

'Bad times are approaching. Bankruptcies are spreading, thousands of artisans are turned into the streets through the consequent stoppage of works. Want and discontent are very visibly on the increase in manufacturing districts. In

America things are even worse, and they will soon react upon the Continent. The financial difficulty is not so great, I think, as might be supposed from its effects. Long prosperity had made all bankers, speculators, and capitalists careless, and now they are being unpleasantly reminded of natural laws, which have been violated, and are reasserting themselves.

'M. Fould was here for a conference with the Barings. He was to have come to us, but unluckily was called away sooner than he expected. Persigny's description of Fould's views and of the state of France is too much mixed up with his own theories and extravagances to be relied upon.

'Parliament assembles on Thursday, and then light will be thrown upon the question from every side. We go to the opening. Fritz and Vicky will be present. Fritz leaves us the same evening.

'Your son is well and in his usefulness I recognise the sacrifice you have made in letting us have him.'

Parliament was opened by the Queen in person on the 3rd of December. But it had little light to throw upon the causes of the financial crisis, which was in a great measure due, in this as in almost every case, to reckless trading or speculations upon other men's means on the one hand, and on the other to the worse than short-sighted credulity of bankers and capitalists in granting facilities for what was in fact wholesale gambling. The Act of Indemnity was passed. Members had no inclination to enter upon the other business shadowed out in the Queen's Speech, and they were set free on the 12th until the 4th of February following. Two days before the prorogation the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar:—

'Parliament is sitting, and bored, but it will be dispersed again on the 12th.

'The money crisis slumbers, but for all that there is no symptom of a change for the better. Mr. Bates maintains, that it is the result of the precious metals going out of circulation, which have been locked up in enterprises, and more particularly in the making of railways, and can only find their way back upon the market slowly and by circuitous means. In America 3,000 miles of railways will have been constructed in two years, which should have been spread over twelve.'

The Queen's Speech had stated that the affairs of India would require the most serious consideration of Parliament, and recommended them to its earnest attention. In the debate on the Address Mr. Disraeli complained of the ambiguity of this language, and called upon the Government to make a frank avowal of their intentions with regard to the future administration of India. To this appeal Lord Palmerston did not then reply. Nevertheless he had some time before arranged with his Cabinet for a measure which would effectually carry out the very policy pressed upon them by Mr. Disraeli in the debate of the 27th of July (*supra*, p. 89) of 'drawing closer the relations between the population of India and the sovereign Queen Victoria.' In the middle of October Lord Palmerston wrote to the Queen, that 'the inconvenience and difficulty of administering the Government of a vast country on the other side of the globe by means of two Cabinets, the one responsible to the Crown and Parliament, the other only responsible to the holders of India stock, meeting for a few hours, three or four times in a year, had been shown by the events of this year to be no longer tolerable. He proposed, therefore, to prepare for the next session of Parliament a measure for abolishing the existing state of things, and for placing the government of India for the future under the exclusive control of the Crown

and Parliament, 'like any other part of Her Majesty's dominions.' 'There would of course,' he added, 'be much opposition on the part of all persons connected with the India Company, and the opposition in Parliament might take up their cause; the matter, therefore, will require to be well weighed before any recommendation on the subject can be submitted for your Majesty's consideration.'

Lord Palmerston took up the question with the greatest energy, and no pains were spared to obtain all the information necessary to guide the Cabinet in settling the principles on which legislation should be based. It was discussed by him personally with the Queen and Prince in the beginning of November, but only on the 17th of December was he able to lay before Her Majesty the heads of the arrangement for the future government of India, which the Committee of the Cabinet had agreed to recommend. In framing the measure, which was subsequently submitted to Parliament, Lord Palmerston courted the opinion of the Prince on many points of detail, and he was not backward in acknowledging the advantage which it derived from the Prince's suggestions.

Meanwhile the same despatches which were now bringing news of the steady progress that was being made in putting down the rebellion in India told of a growing feeling of intolerant rancour on the part of the Europeans against the native population, which was causing great uneasiness and apprehension to the local Indian Government:—

'There is a rabid and indiscriminate vindictiveness abroad,' Lord Canning wrote on the 25th of September to the Queen, 'even amongst many who ought to set a better example, which it is impossible to contemplate without a feeling of shame for one's countrymen. Not one man in ten seems to think that the hanging and shooting of forty or fifty thousand mutineers, besides other rebels, can be otherwise than practicable and right; nor does it occur to those who talk and write most upon the matter, that for the Sovereign of England to hold and govern

India without employing, and to a great degree trusting, natives, both in civil and military service, is simply impossible.'

More he added, that was little to the credit of those who were illustrating on so large a scale the aphorism that 'fear is always cruel,' regardless of the numerous instances of the kindness and generosity of both Hindoos and Mohammedans, which had somewhat brightened the miserable story of the last eight months. He then added :—

'To those whose hearts have been torn by the foul barbarities inflicted upon those dear to them, any degree of bitterness against the natives may be excused. No man will dare to judge them for it. But the cry is raised loudest by those who have been sitting quietly in their homes from the beginning, and have suffered little from the convulsions around them, unless it be in pocket. It is to be feared, that the feeling of exasperation will be a great impediment in the way of restoring tranquillity and good order, even after signal retribution shall have been deliberately measured out to all chief offenders.'

This letter did not reach the Queen till November. In replying to it on the 9th of that month Her Majesty said, in language which merits the widest record :—

'Lord Canning will easily believe how entirely the Queen shares his feelings of sorrow and indignation at the unchristian spirit, shown, alas! also to a great extent here by the public, towards Indians in general, and towards Sepoys *without discrimination!* It is, however, not likely to last, and comes from the horror produced by the unspeakable atrocities perpetrated against the innocent women and children, which make one's blood run cold and one's heart bleed! For the perpetrators of these awful horrors no punishment can be severe enough, and sad as it is, *stern* justice must be dealt out to all the guilty!

'But to the nation at large—to the peaceable inhabitants—to the many kind and friendly natives who have assisted us,

sheltered the fugitives, and been faithful and true—there should be shown the greatest kindness. They should know that there is no hatred to a brown skin—none; but the greatest wish on their Queen's part to see them happy, contented, and flourishing.

'We are delighted to hear such good accounts of Sir Colin Campbell, to whom we ask Lord Canning to remember us most kindly. We can well imagine his delight at seeing his gallant and splendid 93rd, whom we saw at Gosport in June just before they left.'

It will not be out of place here to cite the letter to the gallant soldier to whom this cordial message was sent, written by the Queen a few weeks later (19th January, 1858), when the tidings of the victories of himself, and of those who, along with him, had upheld the honour of the British name, had come to set the hearts of their countrymen at home comparatively at rest:—

'The Queen must give utterance herself to the feelings of pride and satisfaction with which she has learned of the glorious victories which Sir Colin Campbell, and the heroic troops which he has under his command, have obtained over the mutineers. The manner in which Sir Colin has conducted all the operations, and his rescue of that devoted band of heroes and heroines at Lucknow (which brought comfort and relief to so many, many anxious hearts), are beyond all praise.

'The Queen has had many proofs already of Sir Colin's devotion to his Sovereign and his country, and he has now greatly added to that debt of gratitude which both owe to him. But Sir Colin must bear one reproof from his Queen, and that is, that he exposes himself too much. His life is most precious, and she entreats that he will neither put himself where his noble spirit would urge him to be—foremost in danger—nor fatigue himself so as to injure his

health. In this anxious wish the Prince most earnestly joins, as well as in all the Queen's previous expressions.

'That so many gallant and brave and distinguished men, beginning with one whose name will ever be remembered with pride, viz. General Havelock, should have fallen, is a great grief to the Queen! To all European as well as native troops, who have fought so nobly and so gallantly, and amongst whom the Queen is rejoiced to see the 93rd, the Queen wishes Sir Colin to convey the expression of her great admiration and gratitude.

'The Queen cannot conclude without sending Sir Colin the congratulations and good wishes of our dear daughter, the Princess Royal, who is in a fortnight to leave her native land.

'And now, with the fervent wish that the God of Battles may ever attend and protect Sir Colin and his noble army, the Queen concludes.'

CHAPTER LXXXII.

THROUGHOUT the month of December the Prince was busy with the preparations for the approaching marriage of the Crown Princess. Writing at the close of the year to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg, he gives a hint of the hidden pain which was at his heart while arranging for the reception of the numerous princely guests who had intimated their intention of being present to witness that which was to him so solemn a ceremony.

'The last year,' he says, 'has again brought so much trouble with it that one is quite glad to leave it behind. The new year begins for us with the separation from a beloved daughter, which will be especially painful to me. I do not, however, let any hint of this be seen, and I rejoice for her in the prospect of a happy future.

'I hope she may soon be able to present herself to you in person, and that you may judge her with indulgence. This will be especially necessary for her in Germany, where everything is so new to her, and in Berlin, where much will be so difficult. Heaven will be her stay.

'We have innumerable visitors, and to find room for them all in a very limited palace will be a real feat of dexterity. If I succeed in doing this, I may take a professional tour as a conjuror, for the countless *bouquets* from Herr Döbler's hat are not more remarkable than the Princes without number in Buckingham Palace.

'Yesterday we saw Lavradio,[1] who has come back from his wooing expedition. He was sorry he could not take Gotha by the way, where he has not been since he was there as suitor on behalf of the mother. How far back this reminiscence carries us! Papa, Uncle Ferdinand, Uncle Mensdorff, Charles, Linette, who were all together, now sleep with the dead.'

The cloud which had hung over England during the latter half of 1857 was happily, in a great measure, dispelled before the opening days of 1858. The worst of the commercial panic was over, and the tidings from India showed that the rebellion was being gradually stamped out. Delhi was once more in our possession, the gallant force so long immured in Lucknow had been relieved, and the full details of the courage and endurance with which they had kept their ground, and of the splendid valour by which their deliverers had made their way to them, and covered their retreat, had filled the hearts of all at home with gratitude to heaven, and pride in men who had more than maintained the 'dreaded name' of British soldiers for discipline and courage. 'There is nothing like the defence of Lucknow in history,' Lord Canning wrote (11th December, 1857) to Mr. Vernon Smith, then Secretary of the Board of Control, 'except Numantia and Saragossa.' And in every home in England men's eyes had kindled as they read the words of Sir Colin Campbell's general order of the 23rd of November, in which he had told how 'all ranks of a force, hastily assembled, fatigued by forced marches, but animated by a common feeling of determination to accomplish the duty before them,' had won the ground, the posses-

[1] First Minister of the King of Portugal. He had been at the Prince of Hohenzollern's seat near Düsseldorf, arranging for the approaching marriage of the King with the Princess Stephanie. He had acted in a similar capacity in the case of the marriage, to which the Prince alludes, of the King's mother, Dona Maria da Gloria, to Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Kohary, in 1836.

sion of which was necessary to enable the beleaguered garrison to retire with safety, 'by fighting as hard as it ever fell to the lot of the Commander-in-Chief to witness,' and had spoken of the storming of two of the forts as feats 'which had never been surpassed in daring.' On the 9th of January the safe arrival at Allahabad of all the women, children, and invalids, who had escaped from Lucknow, was known through the telegraph. The same telegram announced the signal defeat at Cawnpore by Sir Colin Campbell, on the 6th of December, of the rebels under Nana Sahib, to the number of 25,000, with the capture of all their guns and ammunition.[2] Much had yet to be done to bring back the country to a state of tranquillity, but it was felt that the worst was over, and men could once more draw their breath freely when they thought of what was passing on the Indian Continent.

[2] Along with the happier intelligence of which we have spoken, came tidings that caused general regret, of the death, on the 25th of November, of General Havelock, of dysentery, brought on by fatigue and anxiety. The grave had already closed over this remarkable man, when both Houses of Parliament (7th of December, 1857) unanimously voted him a pension of 1,000*l.* a year, after fitting tribute had been paid to his services in eloquent language by the Earl of Derby and Earl Granville in the one House, and by Lord Palmerston in the other. It had also been announced that he was to be created a Baronet and K.C.B. One of the first acts of Parliament, when it reassembled in February, was to pass a Bill settling an annuity of 1,000*l.* upon his widow and on his eldest son, Sir Henry Marshman Havelock, himself a distinguished officer, on whom the Baronetcy had descended which had not been enjoyed by his father. No sooner was General Havelock's death known, than a warm expression of sympathy from the Queen and Prince was conveyed to his widow through the Duke of Cambridge. In replying to the Duke, Lady Havelock said: 'In the loneliness of my present position, I cannot help wishing that every woman, thus bereaved, might have such a son (I might say sons) to comfort and heal her broken heart.'

In the same letter (24th December, 1857) in which Lord Canning announced the death of General Havelock to the Queen, he spoke of the loss of another very distinguished officer, Brigadier General Neill. 'They were,' writes Lord Canning, 'very different men, however. The first [Havelock] was quite of the old school—severe and precise with his men, and very cautious in his movements and plans, but in action bold as well as skilful. The second very open and impetuous, but full of resources; and to his soldiers as kind and thoughtful of their comfort as if they had been his children.'

'The question,' the Queen wrote to Lord Palmerston (14th January), 'of rewarding the gallant men who have done such wonders in the East, is one of great importance. It will not be possible to take the whole of the claims into account as yet, but the long delay which must necessarily occur before this can be done makes it the more advisable not to leave the few most marked instances of the gallant commanders unrewarded. The Queen hopes that Lord Palmerston will, with Lord Panmure, Mr. Vernon Smith, and the Duke of Cambridge, go into the question, and make her an early report. The Queen would likewise recommend that the opportunity should not be lost for obtaining, by "promotion for distinguished services," some younger and able general officers, whom our system affords no other means of bringing forward. Of course the Duke of Cambridge would be able to take care that the right men are selected. Colonel Inglis[3] ought certainly to be made a Major-General at once.

'The Queen has not heard about the medal which Lord Palmerston agreed should be given at once to the troops in India.'

Her Majesty, as we have seen, did not lose the very first opportunity of letting the Commander-in-Chief and the forces under him know how thoroughly she appreciated their conduct throughout trials, which had put every quality of manhood and soldiership to the severest test. Next to the consciousness of the successful fulfilment of the great trust devolved upon him, the letter to Sir Colin Campbell quoted in the preceding chapter must have been to him his best reward; and the words in which it mentioned the troops under his command were sure to find their way among them, and to waken that proud feeling which makes a soldier forget all past toil and danger, when he learns the gratitude

[3] By whom the glorious defence of the garrison in Lucknow had been conducted.

of his country through the voice of the Sovereign, who is to him its living symbol.

Among the Christmas greetings sent by the Queen the Emperor and Empress of the French had not been forgotten, and on the 1st of January—a day which in after years was watched by Europe with some anxiety for the language held by the Emperor to the Diplomatic circle—he wrote a letter in reply, of which some portions may be here translated:—

'The first of January is usually a day that is anything but pleasant to me, for it is taken up with very tiresome receptions, and this year seemed to me more disagreeable than usual, for it begins on a Friday, and with a fog that might be envied on the Thames. But your Majesty has contrived to dissipate all the sad impressions of the day by deigning to send me a kind word, which I have just received, and which has touched me deeply. Believe me, Madam, the wishes that I form for the happiness of your Majesty, and for that of the Prince, and of your children, are most sincere.

'Our thoughts, too, are full of the 25th,[4] and we share all the emotions which your Majesty must feel on this occasion.

'I congratulate your Majesty on the turn for the better which events in India have taken. The bravery of the English troops in this distant country has filled with admiration all those who comprehend the difficulties and the dangers of a war of insurrection.'

Ten days before the momentous 25th of the month, to which the Emperor alludes, an unforeseen event occurred which was not without its influence upon his future policy, and also upon the political history of Europe. A plan for his destruction, by the explosion of hand-grenades, organised by Felix Orsini and others in England, was carried out on the evening of the 14th, as the Emperor and Empress approached in their carriage the Opera House in the Rue Lepelletier. On reading in the morning papers next

[4] The day fixed for the marriage of the Princess Royal.

day that an attempt had been made of a frightful nature, the particulars of which were not given, the Queen telegraphed to the Emperor, and the same afternoon received a telegram in reply, announcing that the Empress and himself were safe, but deploring 'the number of persons hurt, which, it is said, amounts to eighty.'[5] The same night the Prince's brother arrived at Buckingham Palace from Paris, and was able to communicate full details. He had been in the Emperor's box at the Opera, awaiting the arrival of the Imperial party, when he heard the explosion. 'He rushed down,' says the Queen's Diary. 'The noise and cries were dreadful; and the rush of the crowd, many bleeding, who quite surrounded the Emperor and Empress, was fearful. The Emperor's nose had been grazed; the Empress's dress was spotted with blood from the wounded around her.' [She had also received a blow on the left eye, which affected it for some time.] 'The Empress wonderfully composed and courageous, even more than he. They remained all through the performance.'

Both the Emperor and Empress wrote to the Queen on the 17th. In his letter the Emperor says:—

'In this the first moment of excitement the French are bent on finding accomplices in the crime everywhere, and I find it hard to resist all the extreme measures which people call on me to take. But this event will not make me deviate from my habitual calm, and, while seeking to strengthen the hands of the Government, I will not be guilty of any injustice. I am very sorry to intrude a subject so serious and engrossing upon your Majesty at a moment when I would fain speak only of the happiness I feel in the thought that your mother's heart will soon be satisfied. I would also venture to beg your Majesty to present to the Princess Royal all my congratulations on her marriage. Our warmest good wishes will be with her and with you upon the 25th.'

The Emperor also wrote a separate letter to the Prince.

[5] The actual number proved to be much greater, 10 killed and 156 wounded.

These letters were sent to Lord Clarendon and Lord Palmerston for their perusal. In returning these 'very kind and feeling letters,' as he called them, Lord Clarendon alludes to the violent language towards England, where Orsini's conspiracy had been hatched, which had already been used in the French Chambers, especially by M. Troplong and M. de Morny :—

'Great allowance,' he said, 'is to be made for men whose fortunes depend upon the life of the Emperor, and who were speaking under the excitement and exasperation which the atrocious attempt on his life could not fail to produce. Nor is it to be expected that foreigners who see that assassins go and come here as they please, and that conspiracies may be hatched in England with impunity, should think our laws and policy friendly to other countries, or appreciate the extreme difficulty of making any change in our system.'

When Lord Clarendon wrote this letter, it would have seemed to him the most improbable of events, that the Ministry of which he was a member should within a month be driven from office in consequence of an incident arising out of the Orsini conspiracy.

The Court had passed the early part of the month at Windsor Castle, but removed to Buckingham Palace on the 15th, by which time the numerous Royal and Princely guests invited for the marriage of the Princess Royal were either on their way to England or had begun to arrive. Were it befitting to speak in detail of the domestic incidents of this busy month, a picture of family love and devotion might be presented, which would speak to the heart and imagination in no ordinary degree. As it is, we venture only here and there to lift the veil from the series of incidents recorded in the documents before us, more especially in Her Majesty's Diary.

Thus on the day the Court left Windsor Castle, the Diary bears: 'Went to look at the rooms prepared for Vicky's

"Honeymoon." Very pretty. It quite agitated me to look at them. Poor, poor child! . . .[6] We took a short walk with Vicky, who was dreadfully upset at this real break in her life; the real separation from her childhood! She slept for the last time in the same room with Alice. . . . Now all this is cut off.'

By the 19th all the guests had arrived at the Palace, among them the King of the Belgians with his sons, and the Prince and Princess of Prussia with their suites, and Princes and Princesses in such numbers that the resources of the Palace were taxed to the uttermost to find accommodation for them all. 'Such a house-full,' says Her Majesty's Diary. 'Such bustle and excitement!' Between eighty and ninety sat down to dinner at the Royal table daily. On the 18th, numerous guests were invited for the evening. 'After dinner,' says the same record, 'a party, and very gay and pretty dance. It was very animated, all the Princes dancing. Albert did not waltz. Ernest [Duke of Coburg] said it seemed like a dream to him to see Vicky dance as a bride, just as I did eighteen years ago, and I still (so he said) looking very young. In 1840 poor dear papa [late Duke of Coburg] danced with me as Ernest danced with Vicky.'

The first of the festivities in which the public took part was the performance at Her Majesty's Theatre on the 19th of *Macbeth*, with Miss Helen Faucit and Mr. Phelps in the

[6] The feeling which prompted this exclamation may be gathered from a letter to the Queen from her sister on 31st of July, 1857, in which, after speaking of the Princess Charlotte of Belgium's letters, she says: 'Poor little wife now! I have quite the same feeling as you have on these dear young creatures entering the new life of duties, privations, and trials, on their marrying so young. Alas! the sweet blossoms coming in contact with rude life and all its realities so soon, are changed into mature and less lovely persons, so painful to a mother's eye and feeling; and yet we must be happy to see them fulfil their *Bestimmung* (destiny); but it is a happiness not unmixed with many a bitter drop of anguish and pain.'—(*Letters of Feodora, Princess of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, from* 1828 to 1872, p. 269.)

principal characters, and of the farce of *Twice Killed*, performed by Mr. and Mrs. Keeley. This was the first of a series of four representations, organised at Her Majesty's request, in honour of the marriage. The theatre was beautifully decorated throughout with flowers, and on each occasion was filled by a brilliant and overflowing audience, eager to testify the prevailing sympathy with the Queen and Prince, and the daughter in whose future the deepest interest was generally felt. The whole of the boxes on one side of the grand tier had been thrown into one, and the array of personages of princely blood was certainly remarkable. 'We made,' says Her Majesty's Diary, 'a wonderful row of royalties, I sitting between dear Uncle and the Prince of Prussia.' When after the play 'God save the Queen' was sung, all the house rising, and the vast stage crowded with those who could not find room in the body of the house, the scene was one not readily to be forgotten, as it certainly could not have found its parallel in Europe.

A great ball, at which over 1,000 guests were present, was given next evening at the Palace. The following evening a performance of Balfe's opera of *The Rose of Castille*, followed by a farce, again filled Her Majesty's Theatre, and was witnessed by the assembled Court and all the Royal guests. A great dinner-party was given next day, and the evening closed with singing by Mr. Henry Leslie's choir, so admirable that it provoked comparison in the minds of many who were present with the choral singing, which had recently been heard in England, of the famous Cologne Singing Union. We now return to the Queen's Diary :—

'*Saturday, January* 23.—Fine, frost. Much excitement, but I feel calm. . . . Such bustle, such questions, and Albert torn to pieces. Latish walk in the garden, with Albert and our dear child. Beautiful day. . . . Albert went

before one, to fetch Fritz, who had landed at half-past ten, and at half-past one he arrived with an escort (as have all the visitors) and all the Court waiting for him below. I received him at the bottom of the staircase, very warmly; he was pale and nervous. At the top of the staircase Vicky received him with Alice, and we went into the Audience Room.' In the afternoon the Queen and Prince, with their guests, saw Mr. Rarey illustrate his system of breaking horses at the Riding House at the Palace, and in the evening they were again present at Her Majesty's Theatre, where the Opera of the *Sonnambula* was given.

'*January* 24.—Poor dear Vicky's last unmarried day. An eventful one, reminding me so much of mine. . . . After breakfast we arranged in the large drawing-room the gifts (splendid ones) for Vicky on two tables—Mama's and ours on one, Fritz's, his parents', King's and Queen's [of Prussia], Uncle's and Ernest's, and Alexandrine's [Duchess of Coburg] on the other. . . . Fritz's pearls are the largest I ever saw, one row. On a third table were three fine candelabra, our gift to Fritz. The Prince and Princess of Prussia, the children, Mama, William, all the Princes (except two of the Prussian ones) and ourselves, brought in Fritz and Vicky. She was in ecstasies, quite startled, and Fritz delighted. . . . Service at half-past eleven. The Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce) preached a fine sermon.'

Coming home from a walk in the gardens of the Palace after luncheon, 'we went again to the Present room, where we found more fine gifts had been placed, many from ladies, including a quantity of work. From the Duchess of Buccleuch a splendid case with table ornaments set with coral . . . . from the gentlemen of the Household a beautiful diamond and emerald bracelet, &c. &c. Very busy—interrupted and disturbed every instant! Dear Vicky gave me a

brooch (a very pretty one) before Church with her hair; and, clasping me in her arms, said, "I hope to be worthy to be your child!"' When the duties of hospitality for the day were over, 'we [the Queen and Prince] accompanied Vicky to her room, kissed her and gave her our blessing, and she was much overcome. I pressed her in my arms, and she clung to her truly adored papa with much tenderness.'

'*Monday, January* 25.—The second most eventful day in my life as regards feelings. I felt as if I were being married over again myself, only much more nervous, for I had not that blessed feeling which I had then, which raises and supports one, of giving myself up for life to him whom I loved and worshipped—then and ever! . . . Got up, and, while dressing, dearest Vicky came to see me, looking well and composed, and in a fine quiet frame of mind. She had slept more soundly and better than before. This relieved me greatly. . . . Gave her a pretty book called *The Bridal Offering*.'

When all was ready for proceeding to the Chapel Royal at St. James's Palace, the Queen and Crown Princess were daguerreotyped together with the Prince, but, says the Queen in her Diary, 'I trembled so, my likeness has come out indistinct. Then came the time to go. The sun was shining brightly; thousands had been out since very early, shouting, bells ringing, &c. Albert and Uncle, in Field Marshal's uniform, with bâtons, and the two eldest boys went first. Then the three girls in pink satin trimmed with Newport lace, Alice with a wreath, and the two others with only *bouquets* in their hair of cornflowers[7] and marguerites; next the four boys in Highland dress. The Hall full. The flourish of trumpets and cheering of thou-

[7] The favourite flower of Queen Louise of Prussia, and of all her children and descendants.—NOTE BY THE QUEEN.

sands made my heart sink within me. Vicky was in the carriage with me, sitting opposite. . . . At St. James's took her into a dressing-room prettily arranged, where were Uncle, Albert, and the eight bridesmaids, who looked charming in white tulle, with wreaths and bouquets of pink roses and white heather. Went into "The Closet," [8] where Mama (looking so handsome in violet velvet trimmed with ermine, and white silk and violet) and the Cambridges were. All the foreign Princes and Princesses, except Uncle, the Prince of Prussia, and Prince Albert of Prussia, were already in the Chapel.

'Then the procession was formed, just as at my marriage, only how small the *old* Royal family has become! Mama last before me—then Lord Palmerston with the Sword of State—then Bertie and Alfred. I with the two little boys on either side (which they say had a most touching effect) and the three girls behind. The effect was very solemn and impressive as we passed through the rooms, down the staircase, and across a covered-in court.

'The Chapel, though too small, looked extremely imposing and well,—full as it was of so many elegantly-dressed ladies, uniforms, &c. The Archbishop, &c. at the altar, and on either side of it the Royal personages. Behind me Mama and the Cambridges, the girls and little boys near me, and opposite me the dear Princess [of Prussia], and the foreign Princes behind her. Bertie and Affie, not far from the Princess, a little before the others.

'The drums and trumpets played marches, and the organ played others as the procession approached and entered. There was a pause between each, but not a very long one, and the effect was thrilling and striking as you heard the music gradually coming nearer and nearer. Fritz looked

[8] The Closet is the room which, on Court days, only the Royal family, Princes and Princesses, Peers, Peeresses, and Ladies by Courtesy (daughters of Peers), are allowed to enter.

pale and much agitated, but behaved with the greatest self-possession, bowing to us, and then kneeling down in a most devotional manner. Then came the bride's procession, and our darling Flower looked very touching and lovely, with such an innocent, confident, and serious expression, her veil hanging back over her shoulders, walking between her beloved father and dearest Uncle Leopold, who had been at her christening and confirmation, and was himself the widower of Princess Charlotte, heiress to the throne of this country, Albert's and my uncle, Mama's brother, and one of the wisest kings in Europe!

'My last fear of being overcome vanished on seeing Vicky's quiet, calm, and composed manner. It was beautiful to see her kneeling with Fritz, their hands joined, and the train borne by the eight young ladies, who looked like a cloud of maidens hovering round her, as they knelt near her. Dearest Albert took her by the hand to give her away,—*my* beloved Albert (who, I saw, felt so strongly), which reminded me vividly of having in the same way, proudly, tenderly, confidently, most lovingly knelt by him, on this very same spot, and having our hands joined there. . . . The music was very fine, the Archbishop very nervous; Fritz spoke very plainly, Vicky too. The Archbishop omitted some of the passages.

'When the ceremony was over, we both embraced Vicky tenderly, but she shed not one tear, and then she kissed her grandmama, and I Fritz. She then went up to her new parents, and we crossed over to the dear Prince and Princess [of Prussia], who were both much moved, Albert shaking hands with them, and I kissing both and pressing their hands with a most happy feeling. My heart was so full. Then the bride and bridegroom left hand in hand, followed by the supporters, the "Wedding March" by Mendelssohn being played, and we all went up to the Throne Room to sign the register. Here general congratulations, shaking

hands with all the relations,—I with all the Prussian Princes. The young couple first signed, then the parents of both, and all the Princes and Princesses present (including Bertie, Alice, Alfred, and the Maharajah [Dhuleep Singh], who had come in resplendent with pearls,—the ministers, clergy, &c. I felt so moved, so overjoyed and relieved, that I could have embraced everybody—I shook hands with Lord Clarendon and Lord Palmerston. Vicky gave very pretty lockets to her bridesmaids.

'The young couple returned to Buckingham Palace together, and we with Uncle and the Prince [of Prussia], whom I asked to call me "Du."[9] Tremendous crowd, and cheering as we passed. On arriving at the Palace, we went with the young couple to the celebrated window,[10] at which they stepped out and showed themselves, we and the Prince and Princess [of Prussia] standing with them.'

When, after the wedding breakfast, the inevitable moment of separation came—that moment fraught with such mingled feelings to the parents of even the happiest of brides—the warm loving hearts of those with whom the Princess was to live no more were severely tried. There was many a moist eye, too, among the brilliant throng which accompanied the bridal pair to the door, and saw them drive away amid the protracted cheers of the assembled multitude. 'We dined,' says the Diary so often quoted, '*en famille*, but I felt so lost without Vicky.' In the evening came a messenger from Windsor Castle with a letter from the bride, who brought the not unwelcome news that the Eton boys had dragged the carriage of the Prince and Princess from the railway station

[9] The use of the 'Du' in German marks kinship or endearing intimacy. The readers of Schiller will remember the appeal of Don Carlos to his friend the Marquis of Posa (*Don Carlos*, act i. sc. 9), '*Und jetzt noch eine Bitte! Nenn' mich Du.* And now one boon more grant me! Call me Thou!'

[10] The window over the central archway leading to the courtyard of Buckingham Palace.

to the Castle, and that they had been welcomed in the Royal Burgh by immense crowds, and with the greatest enthusiasm. The metropolis was not behind in testifying its sympathy. 'All London,' the Prince notes in his Diary, 'was illuminated —great rejoicings in the streets.' A State concert of music of the highest class closed in the evening. 'Every one,' writes the Queen, 'kind and feeling, and all the Prussians and Princes, as well as others, pleased and impressed with the ceremony. Only got to our rooms at half-past one.'

There was one absent from the ceremonial of that day whose absence was much regretted. This was the Queen's sister, who, as well as her husband, had been detained in Germany by illness. But all her thoughts were in London with those she loved so well, and she wrote on the wedding-day to the Queen:—

'I must write a few words to you to-day, my heart is so full. My thoughts and wishes are near you and your dear child. How I long to be with you I need not say; but I will not think of myself, only of you and yours. This evening I should like to be with you for a moment and to kiss you, my own dear sister, when everybody else is gone. Constant separations in this life. I am very low to-day. My prayers are with you and your dear child. God bless you all!'

Amid all the bustle and demands upon his attention which this day brought, the Prince found a few moments to unburden his heart to the dear friend at Coburg, whose presence he sorely missed, and to whom this marriage was the fulfilment of that friend's highest wishes for the Princess whom he loved with the tenderest regard:—

'My heart impels me to send you a line to-day, as I cannot shake you by the hand. In a few hours our child will be a wedded wife! a work in which you have had a

large share, and, I know, will take a cordial interest. It is just eighteen years since you subscribed my marriage contract, and were present in the same Chapel Royal at my union with Victoria. Uncle Leopold, whom you now forty-two years ago accompanied to London on the occasion of his marriage, will with myself be one of the bride's supporters. These reminiscences must excite a special feeling within you to-day, with which, I hope, is coupled the conviction, that we all gratefully revere in you a dear friend and wise counsellor. Your son will accompany Vicky; my brother, who was my bridegroom's man, will be present. We shall all miss you.

'Our festivities and visits, which have almost knocked me up, have gone off extremely well, and without the smallest hitch. The Prussians seem to be greatly pleased and to have a high opinion of England. Bridegroom and bride are greatly moved, the interest shown by the public is lively and cordial.

'4 P.M.—The ceremony is over. It was very solemn—all went well. The young people are now changing their dresses, and start in half an hour for Windsor; we are just going over to them. God's blessing be upon them! Do you say "Amen!"

'Buckingham Palace, 25th January, 1858.'

Two days afterwards (the 27th) the Court moved to Windsor, where on the following day the bridegroom was invested with the Order of the Garter. A great dinner was given in the Waterloo Room in the evening, at which, the Queen records, 'everybody was most friendly and kind about Vicky, and full of the universal enthusiasm, of which the Duke of Buccleuch gave us most pleasing instances, he having been in the very thick of the crowd, and amongst the lowest of the low.'

Next day the Court returned to town, and in the evening the Queen and Prince, and the bridal pair, went in state to Her Majesty's Theatre. By this time nearly all the Royal and Princely guests had quitted England, and all eyes were concentrated on those who for the last few days had excited a truly national interest. The enthusiasm of the house demanded the National Anthem twice before and once after the play; on the latter occasion two additional verses appropriate to the circumstances being added. The play, *The Rivals*, was followed by *The Spitalfields Weaver*, in which, as the Queen records, and as those who were present well remember, Wright, an actor too early lost to the stage, 'was excessively droll.'

Next day (the 30th) was devoted to receiving the addresses presented to the Crown Prince and Princess from the City of London, and from all the great cities and towns in the kingdom, many of them accompanied with costly presents, and to a Drawing-room, which was unusually brilliant, and so full that it lasted four hours. That morning the Prince wrote to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg:—

'I have been unable until now to find one quiet moment to write to you, and even now I must steal the time to do so from right and left. We had thirty-five Royal personages to house, to fête, to show England to, to exhibit the bride to the people, to society, &c., to receive the bridegroom, to marry the young people, to prepare their brief honeymoon at Windsor, to induct our son-in-law into the Order of the Garter, to get back here, &c. To-day is devoted to receiving addresses, and to a monster Drawing-room.

'I am now a real father-in-law, our child a real wife. That this looks somewhat strange to us you will comprehend; not less will you feel that the separation for ever of our dear daughter from the family circle makes a frightful gap in our

hearts. I do not trust myself to think of Tuesday, on which day we are to lose her.

'In Germany people seem prepared to welcome her with the greatest friendliness; here the love and the enthusiasm of the people are not to be described: they are quite touching.

'The marriage ceremony was very solemn and affecting. I send you a programme, and with it a piece of the wedding cake, and some orange-blossom from the bridal dress. . . .

'It was eighteen years yesterday since I left my home, fourteen since my dear father was taken from us!'

Next day was Sunday; and the thought of the separation, which the dreaded Tuesday here spoken of by the Prince was to bring, 'hangs,' says the entry in the Queen's Diary, 'like a storm above us! But God will carry us through it, as He did on the 25th. And we have the comfort of seeing the dear young people so perfectly happy.' How significant in its brevity is the entry of the following day: '*Monday, February* 1.—The last day of our dear child's being with us, which is incredible, and makes me feel at times quite sick at heart.' Despite every effort, the thought that it was the last day would intrude. 'I think it will kill me to take leave of dear Papa!' were the words of the Princess to the Queen, at a moment when natural feeling would have its way. 'God knows' (we again quote the Diary) 'what I felt, and how my tears were ready to come.'

'*Tuesday, February* 2.—A wretched day. A dull, still, thick morning. Got up with a heavy heart. Went over to dear Vicky's room to fetch her for the last time. Struggled with all my might against my sad feelings. . . . About a quarter to eleven Vicky came with a very sad face to my room. Here we embraced each other tenderly, and our tears flowed fast; then we recovered for a time. Albert joined us.

We tried to talk of other things.' . . . [The Princess then dressed for her journey.] 'And now the dreadful time was at hand. We all went into the Audience Room, where were Mama and all the children. . . . I still struggled, but as I came to the stairs my breaking heart gave way. My beloved Albert most kindly said, he grieved so much to leave me. I went first, followed by Vicky and Fritz. The Hall was full of all our people, and their people (including Lady Churchill and Lord Sydney, who accompany them to Berlin). Many of the servants also there, and I do not think there was a dry eye. Poor dear child! . . . I clasped her in my arms and blessed her, and knew not what to say. I kissed good Fritz and pressed his hand again and again. He was unable to speak, and the tears were in his eyes. I embraced them both again at the carriage door, and Albert got into the carriage, an open one, with them and Bertie. Alfred and George [Duke of Cambridge] in the next. The Band struck up. I wished good-by to the good Perponchers.[11] General Schreckenstein was much affected. I pressed his hand, and the good Dean's [of Windsor], and then went quickly upstairs.

'A dreadful moment, and a dreadful day. Such sickness came over me, real heartache, when I thought of our dearest child being gone, and for so long—all, all being over! . . . It began to snow before Vicky went, and continued to do so without intermission all day. . . . At times I could be quite cheerful, but my tears began to flow afresh frequently, and I could not go near Vicky's corridor. Everything recalled the time now past—all programmes, dinner lists, &c. lying about still, as if all were yet going on—and all, all over! such desolation! . . .

'At four my beloved Albert returned, with the two boys,

[11] The Count and Countess Perponcher, Kammerherr and Oberhofmeisterin of the Crown Prince and Princess.

very sad, and my grief again burst forth. The separation had been dreadful. . . . Albert seemed much impressed by it. Nothing could exceed the loyalty, enthusiasm, and feeling shown by the countless thousands in the City, and again at Gravesend, where the decorations were beautiful. Young girls with wreaths, in spite of the snow, walked on the pier strewing flowers. . . .

'Albert had waited to see the ship leave,—what a moment it must have been!—but Vicky did not come on deck. . . . Rested and felt very low. The sight of the darling baby [Princess Beatrice] even made me sad, as dear Vicky loved her so much, and only yesterday played with her!'

Among the thousands who thronged the streets of the metropolis on that heavy, 'still,' cheerless morning, and saw the father and child gravely and sadly making their way through the falling snow to the place where they were to part, there were few hearts which were not in sympathy with the feeling that was uppermost in theirs. All felt that, in that hour of parting, not even the thought of the brilliant future which lay before the Princess could afford consolation for the natural sorrow of affection so deep as that which was well known to exist between the Prince Consort and his first-born. How he felt may be seen from his words in writing to her the next day:—

'Buckingham Palace, 3rd February, 1858.

'My heart was very full when yesterday you leaned your forehead on my breast to give free vent to your tears. I am not of a demonstrative nature, and therefore you can hardly know how dear you have always been to me, and what a void you have left behind in my heart: yet not in my heart, for there assuredly you will abide henceforth, as till now you have done, but in my daily life, which is evermore reminding my heart of your absence.'

Every mail brought tidings of the Princess's progress to her new home, and of the favourable impression which she had everywhere produced. On the 6th the Prince again wrote to her:—

'Thank God, everything apparently goes on to a wish, and you seem to gain "golden opinions" in your favour; which naturally gives us extreme pleasure, both because we love you, and because this touches our parental pride. But what has given us most pleasure of all was the letter, so overflowing with affection, which you wrote while yet on board the yacht. Poor child! well did I feel the bitterness of your sorrow, and would so fain have soothed it. But, excepting my own sorrow, I had nothing to give; and that would only have had the effect of augmenting yours.'

To Baron Stockmar he had written the previous day as follows:—

'Our darling child is now gone, and we have already news by telegraph from them as far as Cologne, where they made their entrance yesterday evening. The pang of parting was great on all sides, and the void which Vicky has left in our household and family circle will stand gaping for many a day. Throughout all this agitated, serious, and very trying time, the good child has behaved quite admirably, and to the mingled admiration and surprise of every one. She was so natural, so childlike, so dignified and firm in her whole bearing and demeanour, that one might well believe in a higher inspiration.

'Of the touching enthusiasm and sympathy of all ranks of the people you can form no conception. Down to the humblest cottage the marriage has been regarded as a family affair. *The Times* will have apprised you of the daily incidents; I therefore speak to you only of impressions.

I shall not forget that your son [12] has proved himself in all ways extremely useful, and takes and holds his ground (*prend sa position*), which, among the Berliners, is no easy matter.

'In Paris things look bad. The outcry against England [on account of the Orsini affair] is quite absurd, and begins to provoke excessive indignation here. The Government will, under the circumstances, have trouble in carrying through Parliament, which met yesterday, a suitable measure for the punishment of conspiracy to assassinate. The India Bill and Reform Bill together will give us a great deal to do all through this spring.'

[12] Baron Ernest Stockmar, who was appointed Treasurer to the Princess Royal on her marriage.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

WHILE addresses of congratulation to the Queen from Parliament and from all parts of the kingdom spoke of the warm interest taken by the nation in the Prussian marriage, the young bride was producing a most favourable impression along the route to her new home, and had been received with enthusiasm in Berlin itself, which she reached on the 8th of February. Every step of her progress was watched by her parents, through every channel of information, with the utmost solicitude. With what satisfaction they regarded the accounts that reached them of the way in which their child had proved herself worthy of the welcome given to her, may best be seen in the following portions of a letter to herself from the Prince:—

'11th February, 1858.

'You have now entered upon your new home, and been received and welcomed on all sides with the greatest friendship and cordiality. This kindly and trustful advance of a whole nation towards an entire stranger must have kindled and confirmed within you the determination to show yourself in every way worthy of such feelings, and to reciprocate and requite them by the steadfast resolution to dedicate the whole energies of your life to this people of your new home.[1]

[1] In a letter from Berlin on the 17th of February to the Queen, Her Majesty's sister writes: 'You know of everything that is going on, and how much she [the Princess Royal] is admired, and deserves so to be. . . . The enthusiasm and interest shown are beyond everything. Never was a Princess in this country received as she is. That shows where the sympathies turn to; cer-

And you have received from Heaven the happy task of effecting this object by making your husband truly happy, and of doing him at the same time the best service, by aiding him to maintain and to increase the love of his countrymen.

'That you have everywhere made so favourable an impression has given intense happiness to me as a father. Let me express my fullest admiration of the way in which, possessed exclusively by the duty which you had to fulfil, you have kept down and overcome your own little personal troubles, perhaps also many feelings of sorrow not yet healed. This is the way to success, and the *only* way. If you have succeeded in winning people's hearts by friendliness, simplicity, and courtesy, the secret lay in this, that you were not thinking of yourself. Hold fast this mystic power, it is a spark from Heaven.

'To Him who has shaped everything so happily, I am grateful from the very depths of my soul for the happy climax to the most important period of your life. Dear child, I would fain have been in the crowd to see your entrance, and to hear what the multitude said of you; so, too, is it with Mama. We are, however, kept admirably informed of everything by the telegraph, and post, and papers. The telegraph must have been amazed when it wrote: "The whole Royal family is enchanted with my wife.—F. W."

'Our old marriage day passed off yesterday quietly, but too much interrupted and overlaid with business of all sorts for calm enjoyment (*zur Gemüthlichkeit*).'

Among the tasks which the Prince Consort had set to the Princess Royal in the studies for her new position was the translation of a pamphlet called *Karl August und die Deutsche Politik* by Johann Gustavus Droysen, which had

tainly not towards the North Pole.'—(*Letters of the Princess of Hohenlohe*, p. 276.)

appeared on the occasion of the Goethe and Schiller Festival at Weimar on the 3rd of September, 1857. This essay was in every sense a remarkable one, for the condensed force with which it dealt with the past policy of Germany, and advocated a policy for the future, which being at once liberal and national might give to the German race a fitting position among the States of Europe. It was full of thoughts to nurse the right ambition of one destined to be the future sovereign of a great people. But the intellect of a girl, not yet seventeen, must have been developed in no ordinary degree for the Prince to feel assured that she could enter so thoroughly into the ideas of the writer, as to put them into adequate English. With a natural pride he sent the Princess's translation to Lord Clarendon to read, and received an acknowledgment on the 16th of February, in which his lordship says:—

'The fact of its being translated by the Princess Royal made me suspend all other occupations in order to read it, which I have done with peculiar interest, for I felt all the time that the being engaged in works which convey knowledge and stimulate inquiry and demand reflection has, under the guidance of your Royal Highness, made the Princess what she is. Her manner, which charms everybody, would not be what it is if it were not the reflection of a highly cultivated intellect, which, with a well-trained imagination, leads to the saying and doing of right things in right places.'

'In reading Droysen, I felt that the motto of Prussia should be "*Semper eadem*," and in thinking of his translator I felt that she is destined to change that motto into the "*Vigilando ascendimus*" of Weimar.'

These were no words of flattery; and a remark of the Prince's own to her bridegroom, that the Princess Royal 'had a man's head and a child's heart,'—the 'in wit a man, simplicity a child,' of the poet—was soon confirmed by the report of many a shrewd observer in Germany. One of these wrote to the

Prince Consort a few weeks after her arrival in Berlin: 'She sees more clearly and more correctly than many a man of commanding intellect, because, while possessing an acute mind, and the purest heart, she does not know the word "prejudice."'[2]

The correspondence of the Prince with such a child could be of no ordinary kind. All that thought and experience, prompted by the deepest affection, could suggest, were sure to be placed at her service. At the critical moment, when the reaction after all the excitement and blandishments of the last month was likely to set in, the Prince writes with admirable words of warning and encouragement:—

'17th February, 1858.

'Your festival time, if not your honeymoon, comes to an end to-day; and on this I take leave to congratulate you, unfeeling though it may sound, for I wish for you the necessary time and tranquillity to digest the many impressions you have received, and which otherwise, like a wild revel, first inflame, and then stupefy, leaving a dull nerveless lassitude behind. Your exertions, and the demands which have been made upon you, have been quite immense; you have done your best, and have won the hearts, or what is called the hearts, of all. In the nature of things we may now expect a little reaction. The public, just because it was rapturous and enthusiastic, will now become minutely critical,

[2] In writing to King Leopold on the 16th, the Queen, after mentioning with natural pride that 'nothing can exceed the success and reception' of the Princess Royal, and her letters that speak of her being 'so happy,' adds, 'But her heart often yearns after home, and those she loves dearly,—above all, her dear Papa, for whom she has *un culte* which is touching and delightful to see.' The thought of the daughter's worship for the father then calls up her own for the husband, and the letter proceeds: 'Well do I recognise and know and feel how much I owe you for enabling me to become Albert's wife—a privilege which I know how to appreciate, and by which the country has benefited to a degree that no one can overrate.'

and take you to pieces anatomically. This is to be kept in view, although it need cause you no uneasiness, for you have only followed your natural bent, and have made no external demonstration (*nichts äusserlich* "*affichirt*") which did not answer to the truth of your inner nature. It is only the man who presents an artificial demeanour (*Wesen*) to the world, who has to dread being unmasked.

'. . . Your place is that of your husband's wife, and of your mother's daughter. You will desire nothing else, but you will also forego nothing of that which you owe to your husband and to your mother. Ultimately your mind will, from the over-excitement, fall back to a little lassitude and sadness. But this will make you feel a craving for activity, and you have much to do, studying your new country, its tendencies and its people, and in overlooking your household as a good housewife (*als gute Hausfrau*), with punctuality, method, and vigilant care. To success in the affairs of life, apportionment of time is essential, and I hope you will make this your *first* care, so that you may always have some time over for the fulfilment of every duty.'

And again, a few days afterwards, these weighty and beautiful words occur in another of the Prince's letters to the Princess Royal:—

'. . . Thus very quickly comes a change over the paternal home, and what it was of old it will never again be to you! What does not pass away, and is alone of value here below, is the old love and constancy of heart and mind; these you will always find awaiting you, come when you may, though in truth they have gone with you to your far-off home, and surround you there too.

'You are sure to succeed in bringing your life and thoughts into order, and in gaining the tranquillity that is essential for the health of your mind and soul.'

Baron Stockmar had also been watching the details of the Princess Royal's reception in Germany with an interest scarcely less deep than that of her parents. His delight at all he heard of this favourite of his old age had found warm expression in a letter to the Prince Consort, which called forth the following reply:—

'Your letter of the 5th gave me great pleasure. It is written with the old freshness and glow, and speaks of the old love and devotion. How could we, her parents, feel otherwise than proud and happy at the success which Vicky has won, by her simple, kindly, genial bearing, as well as by her tact! In that success we find some compensation for the bitter feeling of separation.

'The enthusiasm with which she seems to have been everywhere received exceeds our utmost calculations and hopes, and proves that the people approved the idea of this alliance, and have found Vicky in herself answer to their expectations. It is only now, indeed, the difficulties of her life will begin, and after the excitement of the festivities a certain melancholy will come over the poor child, however happy she may feel with her husband. With marriage, a new life has opened for her, and you would have marvelled at the sudden change and development which even here became at once apparent.

'We, that is she and I, have, I think, remained, and I believe will remain, the same to one another. She continues to set great store by my advice and my confidence; I do not thrust them upon her, but I am always ready to give them. During this time of troubles she has written less to me, and communicated the details of her life, and what she is doing, more to her mother. I had arranged this with her, but I hold her promise to impart to me faithfully the progress of her inner life, and on the other hand have

given her mine, to take a constantly active part in fostering it. You may be sure I will not fail in this, as I see in it merely the fulfilment of a sacred duty.

'What you say about an early visit had already been running in my head, and I will frankly explain what we think on this subject. Victoria and I are both desirous to have a meeting with the young couple, somewhere or other in the course of the year, having moreover given them a promise that we would. This could only be in the autumn.

'A *rendezvous* on the Rhine—for example at Coblenz—would probably be the right thing. . . . This does not exclude a flying visit by myself alone, which, if it is to be of any use, must be paid earlier in the year. I shall not be withheld from paying it by the fact, that only with the greatest difficulty could I arrange to find the necessary time. How and where we could see each other I have naturally weighed, and am myself doubtful whether Berlin is the appropriate place for me. I have therefore come to the conclusion that I might go to Coburg, and give the young people a *rendezvous* there. It is so long since I have been in the old house, that my heart and conscience urge me in this direction very strongly. I should be glad, too, to see you again, and to talk quietly with you. Vicky is very anxious to make acquaintance with my birthplace, and I should like to see it with her. I therefore think that this will be the best in every way. Let me have your opinion *soon*. I think you will concur in my plan. Now, however, I must conclude. . . .'

'Buckingham Palace, 15th February, 1858.'

While so much that was of the deepest personal interest to the Queen and Prince had been going on, the political movements in Parliament had not been uneventful. It had reassembled on the 4th of February. Next evening Addresses of congratulation to the Queen upon the recent marriage

were voted with enthusiasm in both Houses. In the House of Commons Lord Palmerston, in moving the Address, prefaced a very cordial and kindly speech by stating that there had been 'no event since the marriage of Her Majesty herself which had so much enlisted the feelings and so much excited the interest of the whole British nation.' Mr. Disraeli, in seconding Lord Palmerston's motion, adverted to the 'domestic sentiment,' which 'in the recent universal feeling respecting this royal marriage pervaded a great and powerful nation. This feeling,' he continued, 'was thus elicited, because there was a conviction in the country, that this alliance was not occasioned by political interests, but brought about by nature and affection; and the people seized the happy opportunity of expressing what they had long felt, that the royal parents of our Princess had ever appreciated the feelings of the hearth, as much as the splendours of the throne.'

No time was lost in entering upon the serious business of the Session. Before doing so, however, expression had to be given to the natural feeling of gratitude to the distinguished men who had grappled so nobly with the crisis in India. Accordingly on the 8th Resolutions were proposed by the Government to both Houses, thanking the civil and military officers of India for the energy and ability displayed by them in suppressing the mutiny. Foremost among the names included in the Resolutions was naturally that of Lord Canning. He had not, however, escaped the fate of all men who are called upon to save the State in times of difficulty and danger. Both in India and at home he had been charged not merely with want of sagacity in failing to divine the strength of the spirit of disaffection, and to devise measures for preventing its breaking out into open mutiny, but also with want of firmness in the measures adopted for putting it down where it had broken out, and for preventing

its spread to other quarters. The Governor-General, better informed as to the facts than any other man could possibly be, and acting under the sense of responsibility, which quickens and fortifies the judgment as nothing else can, had been the mark for the shafts of hasty and imperfectly informed journalists—'severe gnostics,' to borrow Milton's words, 'whose little reading and less meditating holds ever with hardest obstinacy that which it took up with easiest credulity.' Many of the English residents in Calcutta and the Presidency of Bengal, frightened and therefore ferocious, finding the Governor-General in no mood to adopt a policy, against the unoffending masses of the Indian population, of repression and punishment sufficiently ruthless and sweeping to satisfy their theory that the native races of India 'can be influenced by power and fear alone,'[3] had even gone so far as to present a petition to the Queen for his recall. Both in this petition and in violent articles in the press, it was made matter of complaint that the whole of India had not been put under martial law after the mutiny broke out, and the instructions which Lord Canning had issued to the various Civil authorities for their guidance in putting down insurrection in the disturbed districts were sneeringly spoken of as 'The Clemency Orders.'

However such things might add to his difficulties in the great emergency in which he found himself, they could not shake Lord Canning's determination to pursue a policy based on justice and a well-considered appreciation of the character and circumstances of the races with whom he had to deal. In a despatch (11th December, 1857) addressed to the Court of Directors of the India Company, he successfully vindicated his policy, and this despatch had been made public in England a few days before the vote of thanks was moved in Parliament. Nevertheless, an attempt was made by Lord

[3] These words are taken from the petition referred to in the text.

Derby in the House of Lords, and by Mr. Disraeli in the House of Commons, to exclude Lord Canning's name from the vote of thanks, on the ground that it was premature to vote thanks to him until the exceptions which had been taken to his policy by the Calcutta Petition and in other quarters had been discussed and disproved. To this it was answered that the motion did not touch questions of general policy, but only the naval and military operations by which the Mutiny had been quelled, and that to exclude Lord Canning and the other eminent civilians named from the vote of thanks would be equivalent to a vote of censure. Nor were there wanting voices to proclaim in emphatic terms that they all, and Lord Canning especially, had deserved well of the State. 'Lord Canning,' said Mr. Henley, with his usual terseness and force, 'has dealt successfully with a state of things for which it was impossible to be prepared. All that we are asked to pronounce upon is, whether his conduct deserves our thanks. I think it does, and I shall join in the vote.'

On the 11th of December, 1857, Lord Canning wrote a letter to Earl Granville, which the Prince considered of so much value that he has preserved a copy of it among his papers on Lord Canning's administration. The following passages from this letter are of peculiar interest to the student of the history of this period, with reference to the vehement attack which was soon after made upon him for a seeming abandonment, in the case of Oude, of a policy of justice tempered with mercy for one of cruelty and injustice:—

'I could write a chapter in deprecation of anything being done or said in Parliament by the Government, which shall tend to throw cold water upon the policy that has been pursued towards the natives. Look at a map (never think of Indian matters without looking at a map, and without bringing your mind to

take in the scale of the map and the size of the country). Look at a map. With all the reinforcements you have sent (all the Bengal ones are arrived, except 800 men), Bengal is without a single European soldier more than we had at the beginning of the mutiny, Calcutta alone excepted, which is stronger. Twenty three thousand men have moved *through* Bengal, and in Bengal we are still dependent (mainly) upon the good will, I can't say affection and interest, well understood by themselves, of the natives.

'Suppose (not an impossibility, although I hope not a likelihood)—suppose that hostilities train on, and that we do not make our way with Oude and other disturbed places, that our strength becomes again a subject of doubt—will it be the part of a wise Government to keep such a population as that of the three great provinces in a loyal frame of temper? Can you do so, if you proscribe and scout as untrustworthy whole classes . . . ?'

'For God's sake, raise your voice and stop this. As long as I have breath in my body, I will pursue no other policy than that I have been following: not only for the reason of expediency and policy above stated, but because it is immutably just. I will not govern in anger. Justice, and that as stern and inflexible as law and might can make it, I will deal out. But I will never allow an angry and undiscriminating act or word to proceed from the Government of India, as long as I am responsible for it. . . .

'I don't care two straws for the abuse of the papers, British or Indian. I am for ever wondering at myself for not doing so, but it really is the fact. Partly from want of time to care, partly because an enormous task is before me, and all other cares look small. . . .'

'I don't want you to do more than defend me against unfair or mistaken attacks. But do take up and assert boldly, that whilst we are prepared, as the first duty of all, to strike down resistance without mercy, wherever it shows itself, we acknowledge that, resistance over, deliberate justice, and calm, patient reason are to resume their sway; that we are not going, either in anger or from indolence, to punish wholesale; whether by wholesale hangings and burnings, or by the less violent, but not one bit less offensive course, of refusing trust and countenance and favour and honour to any man *because* he is of a class or a

creed. Do this, and get others to do it, and you will serve India more than you would believe.

'Had not the "clemency" question been taken up as it has been taken up in England, I really believe that the cry would never have been heard again, even in Calcutta. . . . *The Times* has done incalculable mischief by giving a new start to the cry. And the second article, by which it appeared to modify the first, only made matters worse, just as an apology is often worse than the offence. I have, however, great faith in Parliament on this question, though by no means on all others concerning India.'

It was apparent from the discussions on the vote of thanks, that the Ministry would encounter a strong opposition to their measure for transferring the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown. Lord Palmerston introduced it on the 12th. Nevertheless, the prevailing conviction among all leading public men, as well as throughout the country, was in favour of the transfer. The only debateable issue was whether the time for it had come, or whether complete tranquillity should not first be restored, and a recognition enforced of the supremacy of British rule. 'First of all,' Lord Ellenborough had said in an incidental discussion in the House of Lords the night before, 're-establish your empire. Show you have the power everywhere to put down all opposition to your rule. Stand as sovereigns of the country before you think of forming a new government.' This was the burden of the arguments urged against the Bill during the two nights' debate that ensued. But when the leader of the Opposition, in winding up the discussion, was constrained to admit that India ought to be governed by the direct authority of the Crown, the House could scarcely be expected to postpone the necessary legislation to an uncertain future, as it was obvious that, with this measure at their back, the hands of Government would be strengthened for the work of pacification, which was still far from being at an end. Such, however, was the

divided state of parties, so feeble the hold of the Cabinet upon a large section of the Liberals, that great doubts were entertained as to the issue of the vote down to the last. These proved, however, to be unfounded, for on the division Mr. Thomas Baring's amendment, that legislation should be postponed, was defeated by a majority of 318 to 173. In the letter (18th Feburary) announcing this result to the Queen, Lord Palmerston was able to say: 'The majority was even greater than had been expected, and proves how little credit is to be given to reports which circulate in clubs and drawing-rooms as to the probable result of Parliamentary proceedings.'

Mr. Evelyn Ashley, in his *Life of Lord Palmerston* (vol. ii. p. 142) says that the Attorney-General (Sir Richard Bethell), walking home with Lord Palmerston after the victorious result, remarked that the Premier ought, 'like the Roman Consuls in a triumph, to have somebody to remind him that he was, as a minister, mortal.' The admonition came quickly, and in a way that was little anticipated by either friend or foe.

In the letter quoted at the close of the last chapter the Prince remarked, that the outcry in France against England on account of the Orsini affair had 'begun to provoke excessive indignation.' That indignation was quickened into flame by the inconsiderate action of the French Government. It cannot be doubted that the nerves of the Emperor received a shock on the occasion of Orsini's attempt,[1] which robbed him for a time of his usual sagacity and self-command, and made him lend an ear to counsels of those about him, which were prompted less by regard for himself

[1] We have before us a statement by one likely to be well informed, that when, after every one at the Tuileries had retired on the night of Orsini's attempt, the Emperor and Empress went to the room of the infant Prince Imperial, their firmness forsook them, and they burst into tears, the Emperor crying most bitterly.

and his dynasty than by alarm for the ruin of their own interests, which must ensue from the success of any fresh attempts upon the Emperor's person. Left to himself, the Emperor would no doubt have regained what he calls in his letter to the Queen (*supra*, p. 155) 'his habitual calm,' and would have followed the wise policy of a silent and magnanimous firmness. If his own police could not protect him against the desperate devices of assassins like Orsini and Pierri, reflection must have satisfied him that neither violent measures against suspected republicans at home, nor penal regulations by other States, could diminish the hazards to which he was exposed. Neither in his calmer moments could he have believed that Sardinia, Switzerland, Belgium, or England, the countries in which the attempts on his life had hitherto been hatched, would restrict their freedom of asylum at his dictation, or that France would support him in any attempt to coerce them into submission.

Now, indeed, the truth was to be realised of what the Prince had told him (*supra*, p. 113): 'No monarch was ever great without a great Minister.' It was in such a crisis as this that the calm wisdom of a true statesman, if such a statesman had been at his elbow, would have kept the Emperor straight, and prevented him from casting about for expedients, which provoked animosity at home and abroad, without adding one tittle to his personal security, or to the stability of his rule. Foremost among these was the dismissal of M. Billault, his Minister of the Interior, and the appointment in his stead of General Espinasse, a soldier of a bad type, ignorant of the elementary principles of civil government. Menacing communications were despatched to Sardinia, Switzerland, and Belgium. The same tone was not ventured upon towards England, but Count Walewski, on the 20th of January, wrote a Despatch to Count de Persigny, the French Ambassador in London, to be communicated to the

English Government, in which strong language was used—language moreover which, if not offensively intended, was felt by many to imply an offensive imputation against this country, that it deliberately afforded countenance and shelter to men by whose writings 'assassination was elevated into a doctrine, openly preached, and carried into practice by reiterated attacks' upon the person of the French Sovereign :—

'Ought the English legislature,' the Despatch bore, 'to contribute to the designs of men who were not mere fugitives, but assassins, and continue to shelter persons who place themselves beyond the pale of common right and under the ban of humanity? Her Britannic Majesty's Government can assist us in averting a repetition of such guilty enterprises by affording us a guarantee of security which no State can refuse to a neighbouring State, and which we are authorised to expect from an ally. Fully relying, moreover, on the high principle (*haute raison*) of the English Cabinet, we refrain from indicating in any way the measures which it may see fit to take in order to comply with this wish. We confidently leave to it to decide the course which it shall deem best fitted to attain the end in view.'

In this communication there was little which, looking at the circumstances with the dispassionate eyes of statesmen bound to consider all sides of a question, could reasonably be found fault with. In truth, it suggested no more than had already suggested itself to the Cabinet, that the existing state of the English law required to be reconsidered. There was no denying the fact that Orsini had gone direct from England, and that he, like the active agents in previous conspiracies against the Emperor's life, had also lived for some time in England. Public feeling was revolted by the way the asylum we had afforded had been abused by men of this stamp, and it was prepared to sanction any reasonable measure to prevent English soil from being used with impunity for the concoction of plots against the life of a foreign Sovereign. Accordingly, a measure introduced by Lord

Palmerston on the 8th of February to make conspiracy to murder a felony punishable with penal servitude for five years, or imprisonment with hard labour for three years—that offence being only a misdemeanour under the existing law—passed the first reading after a two nights' debate, by a majority of 299 to 99. But this signal victory of the Government was speedily followed by a significant defeat.

Day by day the feeling of angry resentment at the Emperor and his advisers had continued to increase. It had been immensely aggravated by the language of certain addresses of congratulation to the Emperor from officers in the French army, calling for the invasion of England as the infamous haunt in which infernal machinations were planned, and denouncing Englishmen as the protectors of murderers and assassins. In an evil hour the Emperor had sanctioned the getting up of Addresses to himself from the army, in the belief that protestations of attachment to his person and dynasty from this quarter would at such a moment have a salutary effect. Most of the Addresses were unexceptionable, but into some of them the old rancorous feeling against England had found its way. These had escaped the observation of the officials whose duty it was to have examined them before they were sent for publication in the *Moniteur*, but it was just these which were most eagerly selected for publication in England. Appearing as they did in the Government journal, they were read as speaking the thoughts of the Emperor; and an undue importance was attached to what would in ordinary circumstances have scarcely provoked a smile of contempt.

When, therefore, Count Walewski's Despatch of the 20th of January came to be known through having been presented to Parliament, it was read by minds already disposed to view it in a light very different from that in which it had been regarded by Lord Clarendon and the Cabinet. To them it

had seemed,—somewhat unnecessarily, no doubt,—to call attention to facts of which they were already painfully cognisant, and for which they were at that moment actually devising a remedy, and not to demand any disclaimer of the imputation which more passionate critics believed it to contain. Neither did they read in it any call upon England to alter her laws to meet the wishes of the French Emperor. But regarding it as a not unnatural appeal to a friendly Government to prevent, if possible, the recurrence of similar incidents, they thought it best not to reply to it by a formal despatch, in which it might have been difficult to avoid saying something which might have added to the soreness already existing on the French side, and in which, moreover, it would have been impossible to gainsay the facts that had been brought by Count Walewski to our notice. But not a moment was lost in making the French Government aware, through the usual official channels of personal communication, that while no consideration on earth would induce Parliament to pass an Alien Bill, we required no inducement to set in motion our law against conspiracy, provided we had evidence to go upon, and that the Government had already instructed the Attorney-General to consider whether that law required to be amended.

The Emperor and his advisers soon became aware of the mistake that had been made. Nothing was further from their thoughts and wishes than a rupture with England, and no sooner was the Emperor's attention called to the outrageous language of the objectionable Addresses, than he authorised his Minister to express his regret that they should have been received or allowed to appear in the *Moniteur*. In introducing the Conspiracy Bill Lord Palmerston mentioned this fact, and it was not without effect upon the vote on the Bill. But the discussion which then took place revealed a strong feeling of dissatisfaction that Count Walewski's

Despatch had not been officially answered. The Government, Mr. Sidney Herbert contended, had abnegated its proper duty, and had left to the House of Commons the duty of answering that Despatch. The suggestion was not lost upon those who were predisposed to test Lord Palmerston's waning hold upon a House where, by the admission of his biographer, 'his manner had become more brusque and dictatorial than was altogether pleasing to the members.'

Accordingly a few nights afterwards (19th February), Lord Palmerston's motion for the second reading of the Conspiracy Bill was met by an amendment moved by Mr. Milner Gibson, skilfully framed to secure a wide support, which expressed regret that the Government, before inviting the House to amend the law of conspiracy, had not felt it to be their duty to reply to Count Walewski's Despatch. The amendment was supported not only by the Radicals who had opposed the first reading of the Bill, but also by Mr. Gladstone and the Peelites, as well as by the chiefs of the Opposition. 'What satisfaction,' said Mr. Disraeli, 'was it to the country that some indefinite words were dropped in a conversation? The Government had acted in a perplexed, timid, and confused manner, deficient in dignity and self-respect. The Despatch ought to have been answered in a spirit worthy of the occasion. A great opportunity had been lost of asserting the principles of public law.' Men like Lord Clarendon or Lord Palmerston, it might have been thought, were safe from the suspicion of being likely to sacrifice either the dignity or self-respect of the Cabinet to the demands of any foreign potentate. But the majority of the House were not disposed to give them credit for having done what was best to conciliate France, labouring as she was under a not unnatural irritation, without at the same time compromising British independence, and declared its approval of what was in effect a vote of censure on the Go-

vernment, by a majority of 19 on a division in which 459 members voted.

It is a striking comment on the hastiness of this vote, that so soon as Lord Clarendon had an opportunity of putting the whole facts fully before the country, it was apparent that the Government had acted firmly, and with a commendable prudence. On the 1st of March he had this opportunity, after Lord Derby had made the usual ministerial statement on acceding to office as Lord Palmerston's successor. So complete was his vindication, that in reporting the proceedings of the evening by letter to the Queen, Lord Derby said: 'Lord Clarendon made an admirable speech in explanation of the course which the late Government pursued, and which, had it been delivered in the House of Commons on the subject of the amendment, would probably have deprived Lord Derby of the honour of addressing your Majesty on the present occasion.'

After a defeat on such a question the Government had no alternative but to resign, for although it was due to an accidental combination of parties, it implied a condemnation of their conduct in a matter of so much gravity, that they felt they could not carry on the government with honour or advantage to the public service. The adverse majority was unquestionably due in a great measure to the Conservative vote; nevertheless, Lord Derby, when sent for by the Queen, was by no means anxious to undertake the duty of forming a government. He disclaimed all privity in the preparation of Mr. Milner Gibson's motion, which had been so worded that it was difficult for the Conservatives not to vote for it, especially those of their number who had only been restrained by his influence from voting against the first reading of the Bill. But, however convenient the temporary accession of Lord Derby and his friends to power might be for those who wished to displace Lord Palmerston, with a view to

the reconstruction at no distant date of a Liberal Government of different elements, and possibly under a different chief, Lord Derby was painfully impressed with the hardship and difficulty of being called upon to conduct the government with a majority of two to one against him, and this at a time when the relations of the country, both external and internal, were in a most complicated position, with imminent difficulties in France, a war in India and in China, the India Bill introduced, and a Reform Bill promised. There were, besides, as he urged upon Her Majesty, resignations and resignations. Was it certain, that Lord Palmerston's resignation was not for the purpose of going through a crisis in order to come back with new strength? Lord Derby, therefore, asked time for deliberation, which was granted by Her Majesty, on the understanding that, if the request to form an administration should be made to him, it would be accepted.

The proposal of the friends of the Government, many of whom were aghast at the consequence of their own vote, to secure for them a vote of confidence from the House of Commons, was firmly rejected. In these circumstances it was clear, that Lord Derby was the only man who could form a Government, and on being again applied to by the Queen he undertook the task. The great questions which had divided them in former years having been determined, he hoped and sought to strengthen his Government by including in it Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Sidney Herbert, the Duke of Newcastle, and Earl Grey. But failing in this, he was driven to fall back chiefly upon the members of his former administration.

Things were in this state, when the Prince wrote (22nd February) the following letter to Baron Stockmar:—

'Here we are in the middle of a Ministerial crisis, and of a bad state of matters in politics. Lord Palmerston, who only two days ago had still a majority, has been hit upon the

same question. For this we have to thank the heedlessness of Louis Napoleon, who ought to have known better than to suffer England to be insulted by his lieutenants. The excitement in the country is tremendous, and at this moment Lord Palmerston is the most unpopular of men. It is quite ludicrous to hear his old worshippers talk of him. In the Lower House they would scarcely let him open his mouth, but regularly hooted him down. The motion on which Radicals, Peelites, and Tories were able to unite against the Ministry, was framed with extreme dexterity by Lord John, in concert with Sir James Graham, and given to Milner Gibson to fire off. . . .

'Victoria has entrusted Lord Derby with the formation of a new Ministry. . . . The Peelites and Lord Grey have refused to join him, and declined office. Thus we have a repetition of the old patriotic spirit (?), and no prospect of getting a stable Ministry. Lord Ellenborough is a new inauspicious element in the Derby administration. He wishes for himself India or the War Department. . . . Twenty thousand people assembled in Hyde Park yesterday with the cry "Down with the French!" When this excitement has passed off, calmer reason will reassert itself, and the country acknowledge that it got itself into a mess.

'What did Lord Palmerston immense harm, was the appointment of Lord Clanricarde as Privy Seal. . . . Meanwhile the Bill against conspiracy has been brought in with a large majority, and the Indian Bill with a majority of 200, whilst the Tories have pronounced violently against it. . . . The funds are going down, and the City makes long faces.[5]

'From France we get tidings daily of increasing exasperation against the Government. General Espinasse is generally detested, dreaded, and despised. Pélissier is sulky '*d'avoir*

[5] The funds fell three per cent. in France on the announcement of Lord Palmerston's resignation.

été compromis sans sa permission en se voyant placé dans le conseil de régence.[6]

'Here you have materials for reflection, which I can only fling to you in haste in this fragmentary way. You will draw your own conclusions from them.'

The new administration, as we have said, presented few new names. Mr. Disraeli appeared in it as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Malmesbury as Foreign Secretary, Mr. Walpole as Home Secretary, Lord Stanley as Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir John Pakington, as First Lord of the Admiralty, General Peel, as Secretary of State for War, Lord Ellenborough, as President of the Board of Control, Sir Frederick Thesiger, as Lord Chancellor, with Sir Fitzroy Kelly and Mr. Cairns as Attorney and Solicitor General. It was felt that as they entered upon office reluctantly and under very unfavourable conditions, they were entitled to a generous forbearance on the part of their opponents. But on this no Ministry can confidently count, which is lifted into office rather through the momentary divisions of its adversaries than by the voice of the nation. The opportunity of gaining official experience was, however, sufficiently valuable to reconcile them to the drawbacks under which they were sure to labour, and they entered on their task with energy and courage. On the 1st of March Lord Derby made a full statement to the House of Lords of his intended measures and course of policy. The Walewski Despatch was to be answered, the Conspiracy Bill to be dropped, a New India Bill to be introduced, and the question of Reform postponed till the following year. The statement was well received. Parliament was adjourned for the election of the members

[6] One of the first acts of the Emperor of the French, after the Orsini attempt, was to appoint a Council of Regency. The bluff old soldier did not apparently like to have his name associated with some of his coadjutors upon the Council.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

When the Emperor of the French learned from Lord Derby's speech that the Conspiracy Bill would not be proceeded with, his vexation and disappointment were at first great. The passing of the Bill would have helped to appease the angry spirit which his own indiscretion had helped to foment in a certain section of his followers, and which had been made the most of, for their own purpose, by the plotters against the Anglo-French Alliance. But that alliance was too important to the Emperor's position, and he prized it too sincerely, to allow it to be jeopardised by persisting in demands which the outburst of feeling in England had shown him would never be conceded. Once persuaded that the measure was one which no Ministry could carry, he was certain to see the wisdom of letting the subject drop. To satisfy him on this head, therefore, became the first object of the Government, and they were materially assisted in this by the confidence which the Emperor felt in Lord Cowley, who remained as Ambassador in Paris notwithstanding the change of Ministry, and by the frankness with which he discussed this question with his lordship, as, indeed, he was in the habit of discussing with him all questions that affected the interests of the two countries. Lord Cowley had even the courage to suggest that as such a measure, unless carried by what was clearly not to be hoped for, the almost unanimous consent of Parliament, could be no satisfaction to France, the Emperor would place himself in a far better position with

England, were he himself to request that all further discussion on the subject should drop.

The frank explanations exchanged by Lord Cowley with both the Emperor and Count Walewski, in those friendly conversations which the French call '*diplomatie intime*,' aided by the gradual cooling down of the factitious excitement against England in Paris, soon led to an adjustment satisfactory on both sides. Count Walewski's obnoxious Despatch of the 20th of January was answered in a Despatch by Lord Malmesbury to Lord Cowley, written to be communicated to Count Walewski. In this answer Count Walewski's attention was called to the imputation which seemed to be conveyed by the language of his Despatch, that not only were the offences of which it complained not recognised as offences by the English law, and such as might be committed with impunity, but that the spirit of English legislation was such as designedly to shelter and screen the offender from punishment. A conviction was expressed that, whatever the words might import, it could not have been Count Walewski's intention to convey an imputation of this kind, 'injurious alike to the morality and honour of the British nation,' and that he would not hesitate, 'with that frankness which has characterised his conduct, to offer an explanation which cannot fail to remove any existing misconception.'

The strongest assurances were given orally by Count Walewski to Lord Cowley, when this Despatch was read to him, that he had never intended to do more than to call attention to the acts of certain conspirators against the Emperor's life, who had used England as the base for their machinations, but that he had never pointed out, 'or intended to point out, a remedy for them. It was for the English Government and the English nation alone to determine in what manner, and in what measure, a remedy could be applied.'—(*Despatch, Lord Cowley to Lord Malmesbury*, 8th March, 1858.) Count de Persigny was also instructed, in a Despatch (11th March)

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from Count Walewski, to reiterate these assurances in unqualified terms, and the following paragraph of the Despatch brought the differences between the Governments to an honourable close:—

'In giving these assurances to the Principal Secretary of State you will add, that the Emperor's intentions having been misunderstood, His Majesty's Government will abstain from continuing a discussion, which, if prolonged, might injuriously affect the dignity and good understanding of the two countries, and will place its reliance purely and simply on the loyalty of the English people.'

Lord Malmesbury received this Despatch in time to enable Mr. Disraeli to open the business of the Session (12th March) by informing the House of Commons that the 'painful misconceptions' which had for some time existed between England and France had been terminated in a friendly and honourable spirit. This was a triumph for the new Government, all the more that a solution so speedy and satisfactory of a difference envenomed by jealous and angry feelings on both sides had not been anticipated.

The announcement was very welcome to the country, which had gained its point in letting the Sovereigns of the Continent see that it would not brook interference with its domestic laws. But the arrangement, to the general surprise, was followed by the resignation of Count de Persigny, who, as Ambassador at the English Court, had hitherto proved himself a warm friend of the English alliance. This step, it soon became known to the diplomatic world, was taken, not in consequence of any change in his views in this respect, but out of personal mortification at finding that an arrangement had been concluded by his rival, Count Walewski, in opposition to his views, and, indeed, without even making him aware of its terms, until after they had become known to the English Government.

The struggle for influence between the Emperor's Ministers was only interesting to the English Government, inasmuch as they placed greater reliance upon the superior ability and loyalty of Count de Persigny, and because they had reason to apprehend that his successor, if left to be nominated by Count Walewski, would prove less independent and less devoted to the English alliance than they had always found Count de Persigny. But the Emperor took the matter into his own hands, and determined to have, not a friend of his Minister's, but of his own, at the Court of St. James's. Accordingly, he appointed General Pélissier, Duke of Malakoff, to the post, thus marking emphatically his determination that the friendly relations between the two Courts should not be disturbed. The Duke was no diplomatist, but he was honest, he had good sense, he had always been loud in his admiration of the English army, and he had not been backward in expressing his disgust at the bombast of the offensive military Addresses:—

'Pray tell the Queen,' Lord Cowley wrote (22nd March) to Lord Malmesbury, 'that it is impossible to doubt the sincerity of the compliment which is intended in the proof, which his nomination gives, of the value which the Emperor, spite of his momentary vagaries, places on the English alliance. There could not be a greater reparation for the offence given by the Addresses, than by sending the greatest man in the army to maintain friendly relations.'

A few days after the formation of Lord Derby's Ministry, Count de Persigny said to Lord Clarendon, that they had prepared for themselves a *héritage de rupture* by the concurrence of their party in the vote which had driven Lord Palmerston from power. Thus far at least they had escaped the threatened danger, for not even those whom they had succeeded could have hoped to bring the discussions with the Court of the Tuileries to a speedier or more satisfactory

close. But they were not equally successful in the measure they were called on to propose for dealing with the other great question, the settlement of which they inherited from their predecessors.

After the line of opposition which they had taken up to the Government of India Bill of Lord Palmerston's Cabinet, they could not adopt it, but were bound to introduce a Bill of their own. The constitution of the body, by whom the government of India was to be carried on, after its transfer to the Crown, was obviously the all-important feature of any measure that might be introduced. Lord Palmerston's Bill had placed it in a Council to be nominated exclusively by the Crown, the members of which were to have the qualification of experience in Indian affairs gained by not less than ten years' service for the Crown or the East India Company. This principle, it might have been thought, was one that could not be objectionable to a Conservative Government, as it only applied to the government of India the rules which the English Constitution had established for the government of every other department of the State. But they appear to have been carried away by the idea, that, as the commercial element had always been largely represented in the Court of Directors, this element should have a special voice upon the new India Council. Accordingly they determined that of a Council of eighteen, four should be elected by holders of East India Stock, the holders of Stock in Railways or other public works in India, and by persons who had been for ten years in India as commissioners, officers in the Queen's army, or in the military or naval service of the East India Company, or as civil servants either of the Company or of the Queen. Five more were to be purely elective. Of these, London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Belfast were each to have the power of electing one, subject to the qualification that he had been five years engaged in commerce between

India and the United Kingdom, or in the manufacture of goods for exportation to India, or at least ten years resident in India.

When the draft of the Bill was submitted to the Queen, it was studied by Her Majesty and the Prince with the care which the importance of the measure demanded. This resulted in several suggestions being made by them, all of which, with one exception, were adopted. That exception was the scheme for electing members on the Council, but Lord Ellenborough was too much wedded to the plan, to yield to the objections urged against it on the part of the Queen. In writing to him (26th March) expressing her satisfaction that the other suggestions had been acted upon, Her Majesty added, that she still felt 'the greatest apprehension as to the political soundness and wisdom of the clause giving to the 10*l.* householders of Manchester, Liverpool, Belfast, Glasgow, and the City of London, the election of five members of the Council, the constituency not being either directly interested in India, nor at all peculiarly fit to judge of Indian matters, and the arbitrary selection of five towns out of the three kingdoms not appearing to the Queen a just distribution of an important political right. She is afraid that these elections will be turbulent and democratic, and that the effect of the inadequate popular representation will be a future desire to give the nine seats to be filled by the nomination of the Crown to other great towns, which the Crown will have difficulty in resisting, as the principle of an English Parliamentary constituency is admitted into the Bill. The Prince has explained these objections at length to Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, but as the Cabinet have considered the objectionable clause an absolutely necessary one to ensure the passing of the Bill, she has not pressed further its alteration, but thought it right to mention the circumstance herself to Lord Ellenborough.'

The same day the Queen received a letter from Lord Ellenborough with a copy of the Bill, showing the alterations made in pursuance of what he calls 'the Prince Consort's valuable and constitutional suggestions,' and expressing deep regret that every part of the Bill did not meet with Her Majesty's 'full approbation.' He then vindicated his proposal of elective members on the ground that commercial interests ought to be represented on the Council, and that any other mode of electing commercial men than that proposed by the Bill would certainly be rejected by the House of Commons.

But his conviction and that of the Cabinet that the introduction of the clause objected to by the Queen was essential to secure the passing of the Bill by commanding the votes of the advanced Liberals, who had it in their power to turn the scale upon a division, was destined to be very rapidly dispelled. For when the same evening the Bill was introduced by Mr. Disraeli (26th March), although it had been arranged that the discussion should be one of exposition and not of controversy, this feature of the Bill was vehemently assailed by Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Bright. The former charged it with 'giving the colour of popular support to the really despotic character of the government to be established. From beginning to end the proposal was a great sham.' Mr. Bright more skilfully attacked the principle on constitutional grounds:—

'He did not attach much importance,' he said, 'to the theory which had been advanced with regard to the popular election of members of the Council. The judges of the land were not elected by the constituencies of the United Kingdom, but yet they were usually and properly looked upon as being independent of the Crown, and of Parliament; and he thought that members of the Council not chosen by election would perform their duties just as well as those who might be elected by old Indians, or by Manchester manufacturers, or merchants who some time in their lives

had exported goods to India. He was afraid that the proposition that four or five large constituencies should elect those Councillors savoured of what was generally called claptrap.'

These words carried greater weight from the fact that Mr. Bright followed them up by a declaration of friendliness to the Government so great, that if a change of Ministry involved the return of their predecessors to office, 'no man could be more desirous than himself of keeping them in the position they now occupied.'

'The subject, however,' he continued, 'was one far beyond the consideration as to which side of the House the noble lord the member for Tiverton should sit.'

Mr. Bright therefore urged the Cabinet to reconsider during the approaching Easter recess some of the provisions of their Bill.

'He hoped that the result of that reconsideration would be a measure founded on broad, general, and simple principles, for there was no scheme so foolish as a complicated scheme, which, by various ramifications, tended to catch somebody here and somebody there, or indirectly to grapple with one thing on the one side and with something else on the other.'

In these pregnant words, Mr. Bright anticipated the all but universal and instant condemnation of the public journals, which in other respects acknowledged the merits of the Bill. But the strongest confirmation of the justice of the objections urged in Her Majesty's letter was contained in a letter from Lord Derby to Her Majesty next day (27th March), in which he said: 'The Indian Bill was on the whole favourably received last night; but the general opinion certainly appeared adverse to the clauses giving a right of election to the parliamentary constituencies of five great towns, and in accordance with the objections which his Royal Highness the Prince Consort had stated to those provisions.'

On the day on which this letter was received, the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar; but even to that confidential friend he was silent as to the way his objection to the dangerous element in the India Bill had been confirmed by the public voice:—

'To-day we go to Windsor, where Bertie's confirmation is to take place on Maundy Thursday.

'I never remember to have had so much to do as I have had lately. The change of Government, the India Bill, the French difficulties, the educational requirements, &c. &c., have especially contributed to this. . . .

'With France matters have once more been put upon a good footing. Her ruler, however, required the lesson. The loss of Persigny is a great loss for us; still Pélissier will certainly do all in his power to uphold the alliance conscientiously. He comes after Easter. His appointment is a deadly blow to Walewski, who had tripped up poor Persigny's heels, but with the view of appointing a creature of his own in his place. The Emperor, however, wishes to have a *personal* representative here.

'Brunnow had reckoned upon Moustier from Berlin, whom he would have had in his pocket, and through him Walewski. Now he gets the Duke of Malakoff! He has not yet been able to realise the position, and is by way of being extremely confidential; it is he alone who has made Vicky's marriage popular in Berlin, where it was at first very unpopular, and he weeps tears of emotion when he speaks of her! He was never finer!

'Buckingham Palace, 27th March, 1858.'

The Easter recess brought a temporary lull in the political world. But in regard to the India Bill, it was obvious that it could not pass unless greatly modified. Had the Opposition been able to close their ranks, it might have been

the means of unseating the Ministry. But, on the one hand, the body of Liberals hostile to Lord Palmerston were determined not to bring him back to power, and, on the other, Lord John Russell had not yet foregone his hopes of being the next Liberal Premier. He was therefore by no means disposed to force matters to a crisis, and, in fact, he proved in the end a valuable ally of Lord Derby's administration in enabling them to get their India Bill into an acceptable form.

The Prince glances at this deadlock of parties in the letter to Baron Stockmar presently to be quoted, in which he dwells upon the project on which he had set his heart, of a visit to Germany in May, to see the Princess Royal and her husband (see *supra*, p. 178):—

'At last I receive a sign of life from you, in your last letter of the 27th, which reached me yesterday. It does not give me the opinion I asked for, but I assume "that silence means consent," and that you have nothing to urge against the plan of the rendezvous in Coburg, although it possesses nothing like the advantage of the other plan, over the practicability of which you now cast a doubt. Now I must try to find out whether my own is not, owing to time and circumstances, impracticable also. I have only ten days left after Whitsuntide, from about the 25th of May to the 5th of June. Whether the state of our political world will then admit of my being away, I cannot as yet determine.

'The India Bill will in no case pass in its present shape, in which it comprises an exceedingly dangerous democratic element; disposed although the Ministry is to make all sorts of concessions, the decision of Derby's fate will depend purely on whether Lords Palmerston and John Russell are reconciled, and come to an understanding about their own concerns.

'They were all three yesterday at the confirmation of the

Prince of Wales, which went off with great solemnity, and, I hope, with an abiding impression on his mind. The previous day his examination took place before the Archbishop and ourselves. Wellesley prolonged it a full hour, and Bertie acquitted himself *extremely well*. To-day we take the Sacrament with him.[1]

'Next week he is to make a run for fourteen days to the South of Ireland with Mr. Gibbs, Captain de Ros, and Dr. Minter, by way of recreation. When he returns to London he is to take up his residence at the White Lodge in Richmond Park, so as to be away from the world and devote himself exclusively to study and prepare for a military examination. As companions for him we have appointed three very distinguished young men of from twenty-three to twenty-six years of age, who are to occupy in monthly rotation a kind of equerry's place about him, and from whose more intimate intercourse I anticipate no small benefit to Bertie. They are Lord Valletort, the eldest son of Lord Mount Edgcumbe, who has been much on the Continent, is a thoroughly good, moral, and accomplished man, draws well and plays, and never was at a public school, but passed his youth in attendance on his invalid father; Major Teesdale, of the Artillery, who distinguished himself greatly at Kars, where he was aide-de-camp and factotum of Sir Fenwick Williams; Major Lindsay,[2] of the Scots Fusilier Guards, who received the Victoria Cross for Alma and Inkermann (as Teesdale did for Kars), where he carried the colours of the regiment, and by his courage drew upon himself the attention of the whole army. He is studious in his habits, lives little with the

[1] In *The Early Years of the Prince Consort*, p. 331, a Memorandum by Her Majesty is quoted, in which it is said, 'The Prince had a very strong feeling about the solemnity of this act, and did not like to appear in company either the evening before or on the day on which he took the Sacrament; and he and the Queen almost always dined alone on these occasions.'

[2] Now better known as Colonel Loyd Lindsay.

other young officers, is fond of study, familiar with French, and especially so with Italian, spent a portion of his youth in Italy, won the first prize last week under the regimental adjutant for the new rifle drill, and resigned his excellent post as aide-de-camp of Sir James Simpson, that he might be able to work as lieutenant in the trenches.

'Besides these three, only Mr. Gibbs and Mr. Tarver will go with him to Richmond. As future governor, when Gibbs retires at the beginning of next year, I have as yet been able to think of no one as likely to suit, except Colonel Bruce, Lord Elgin's brother, and his military secretary in Canada, who now commands one of the battalions of Grenadier Guards, and lives much with his mother in Paris. He has all the amiability of his sister, with great mildness of expression, and is full of ability.

'As to Vicky, I think I shall best give you a glimpse into her state of mind by sending you a copy of her last letter to her mother. Unquestionably she will turn out a very distinguished character, whom Prussia will have cause to bless. I write to her every Wednesday by the courier, and every Monday receive a letter from her by the same channel. We discourse in this way on general topics, whilst she writes to her mother almost daily, frequently twice a day, and gives the details of her life.

'Will you try to see her in Gotha, where she is to be for two days next week?

'Little Beatrice is an extremely attractive, pretty, intelligent child, indeed the most amusing baby we have had.

'Windsor Castle, 2nd April, 1858.'

Of the letters here spoken of, written at this period by the Prince every Wednesday to his daughter in Berlin, the character may be estimated by a few extracts. Thus on the 10th of March he writes to her from Osborne:—

'. . . You seem to have taken up your position . . . with much tact. . . . How I long to see you, and to hear from you those impressions which your first entrance from childhood into life, into that difficult struggle and severe school, must have made upon your heart and mind. To be deprived of every opportunity of watching that important process in a dear child's development, is indeed a great trial. The bandage has been torn from your eyes—all at once as regards all the greatest mysteries of life, and you stand not only of a sudden before them, but are called upon to deal with them, and that too on the spur of the moment. "Oh! It is indeed most hard to be a man," was the constant cry of the old Würtemberg Minister von Wangenheim, and he was right!'

Again a few days afterwards, in commenting upon the sensation of home-sickness felt by the Princess, the metaphysical tendency of the Prince's mind finds vent:—

'That you should sometimes be oppressed by home-sickness is most natural. This feeling, which I know right well, will be sure to increase with the sadness which the reviving spring and the quickening of all nature that comes with it, always develop in the heart. It is a painful yearning, which may exist quite independently of, and simultaneously with, complete contentment and complete happiness. I explain this hard-to-be-comprehended mental phenomenon thus. The identity of the individual is, so to speak, interrupted; and a kind of Dualism springs up by reason of this, that the *I which has been*, with all its impressions, remembrances, experiences, feelings, which were also those of youth, is attached to a particular spot, with its local and personal associations, and appears to what may be called *the new I* like a vestment of the soul which has been lost, from which nevertheless *the new I* cannot disconnect itself,

because its identity is in fact continuous. Hence, the painful struggle, I might almost say, spasm of the soul.

'I hope I have not grown too abstruse. Think, however, on what I have said; perhaps you will extract something better from it.'

A few days later, the Prince has to tell his daughter of his hope of making out his cherished scheme of a visit to Coburg to meet her, and he writes:—

'My whole stay in Coburg can only be for six days, but what delight would these six days be to me, after thirteen years' absence to be once more in my old home, and to see you again! To see you and Fritz together in a quiet homely way (*gemüthlich*), without visits of ceremony, &c. I dare not picture it to myself too strongly, and yet I must mention it now, if it is to be brought about at all. Talk it over with Fritz, and let me know if I can count on you, but do not let the plan get wind, otherwise people will be paying us visits, and our meeting will lose its pleasant private character.

'Beatrice, on her first birthday, looks charming with a new light blue cap. Her table of birthday gifts has given her the greatest pleasure, especially a lamb.'

The Easter Recess afforded an opportunity to the Government to reconsider the question of their India Bill, which had met with general condemnation. In a speech at the Mansion House on the 6th of April, Lord Derby made an appeal for forbearance, which the country at least, if not the Opposition, was not indisposed to grant. He claimed credit to his Ministry for having lost no time in framing a measure which they had been very unexpectedly called upon to take up, and for having placed it before the country previous to the Recess, in order that it might be subjected to investigation and inquiry:—

'We court,' he said, 'the co-operation and advice of Parliament, and of the country, with the view of rendering the change which we propose as safe and beneficial as we earnestly desire that it may prove to be. The one thing which we alone deprecate—and which we deprecate, not for the sake of the Government of the day, but on account of the important interests involved in this country and in India—is that a question involving such mighty interests, and of such overwhelming importance, should be made the sport of political parties or the battlefield of rival disputants.'

In these words Lord Derby seems to have desired to prepare the public mind for the policy on which his Cabinet had decided, of taking the opinion of the House of Commons on the main principles of an India Bill in the shape of Resolutions, in accordance with which a new Bill might be moulded, rather than encounter the hazard of almost certain defeat in a division on a second reading of their original Bill.

Singularly enough Lord John Russell, anxious, to use his own words, to prevent a discussion on that Bill 'partaking of a party character, which must be injurious to the question itself,' had come to the same conclusion as to the wisdom of proceeding by way of Resolutions to obtain the mind of Parliament on the salient principles of the contemplated measure. It was thought at the time, that he was not a little influenced in coming to this conclusion by a desire to defeat any movement of Lord Palmerston and his friends to overturn the Ministry, while he should at the same time secure for himself a great position as mediator on a question of Imperial magnitude. However this may be, the fact that Lord John Russell intended to suggest the plan indicated, and that he had even prepared a series of Resolutions, was confidentially communicated to Mr. Disraeli, a few minutes before he was on the point of rising in the House of Commons, on the first day of its reassembling (12th April), to announce the intention of the Government to propose a similar course.

He therefore confined himself to intimating that his financial statement would be made on the 19th, and that the second reading of the India Bill, which had been already appointed for that day, would therefore be postponed.

It was manifestly a great advantage to the Ministry, that the course on which they had themselves resolved should be suggested by a statesman on the other side of the House so distinguished as Lord John Russell. Had they been stronger, however, they might have afforded to dispense with this advantage, and Mr. Disraeli would probably have felt himself less pressed than he seems to have been by the consideration that, having himself introduced a Bill, it would be ungracious to interfere with the Resolutions of an independent member, and one so weighty and distinguished. When, therefore, Lord John Russell made his proposal in a calm and conciliatory speech, Mr. Disraeli, while expressing his readiness, if agreeable to the House, to propose Resolutions himself, indicated that he should not object to let the discussion be taken on any Resolutions which Lord John Russell might bring forward. The House, however, to whose judgment the plan of Resolutions strongly commended itself, rightly determined to place the responsibility of preparing them upon the Government,—a responsibility which they naturally were by no means reluctant to accept. They were now clear of the dangers of a second reading of their faulty Bill, a marked division in the ranks of their opponents had shown itself, and they might therefore fairly anticipate the passing of a Bill matured in all its essential points by temperate discussion.

The Government Resolutions were laid upon the table of the House a few days afterwards. The debate upon them did not commence till the 30th of April. Considerable progress had been made with them, and several of the most important had been carried by large majorities, when the very existence of the Government became for a time imperilled

by an imprudence on the part of Lord Ellenborough—that 'inauspicious' element of the Cabinet, as he was prophetically styled by the Prince (*supra*, p. 192)—to which we shall hereafter have occasion to refer more in detail.

Meanwhile the Budget introduced by Mr. Disraeli on the 19th had been well received. The revenue had suffered by the depressed state of trade during the previous year, while the state of affairs both in India and Europe had compelled an increase in the national expenditure. The result was a deficit of nearly four millions; but as this was chiefly caused by engagements to pay off debt, it indicated no falling off in the resources of the country. To meet this deficiency a tax on bankers' cheques, and an equalising of the duty on spirits in Ireland, were proposed and accepted; and it was generally felt that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had come well out of an ordeal in which his financial skill had been severely tested.

The friendly relations which had recently been re-established with the Court of the Tuileries were somewhat disturbed during this month by the acquittal at the Central Criminal Court, after a protracted trial, of Dr. Simon Bernard, an accomplice of Orsini's; and even more, perhaps, by the unseemly exultation with which that acquittal had been received by a portion of the public and the press. Dr. Bernard had been arrested by Lord Palmerston's Government on the 15th of February, and committed for trial; but it was not till the 12th of April that his trial began. Meanwhile Orsini and Pierri had (13th March) expiated their crime on the scaffold; and Orsini, in consequence of two letters to the Emperor of the French, appealing to him to become the liberator of Italy, had not only become invested with some of the false halo of glory through which political assassins have always found some eyes to regard them, but, what was still more strange, had gained such a hold upon

the mind of the Emperor himself, that he had been with some difficulty withheld from granting him a pardon.

If the Emperor could feel so leniently disposed, as it was no secret that he did, to the chief delinquent, he had not much right to complain of a foreign jury for refusing to find a verdict against an accomplice, who had not taken part in the actual attempt. But it is more than probable that no ground of complaint on this score would have been given, but for the angry feeling, still far from extinct, which had been roused in England by the foolish threats of the French colonels, and by the dictatorial demands of the French Government upon Sardinia, Switzerland, and Belgium, to which reference has already been made.[2] As it was, these furnished the theme for the fiery rhetoric of Bernard's counsel, before which the very damaging proofs of his active aiding and abetting of Orsini became of no effect. Bernard was acquitted, and when the decision of the jury was given, the court resounded with cheers, hats and handkerchiefs were waved, the prisoner himself waving his handkerchief in triumph over his head.

Happily, the Emperor knew England too well to regard

[2] Extreme pressure was put by France upon Sardinia in demands for the suppression of Mazzini's journal, the *Italia del Popolo*, the banishment of dangerous refugees, a new Press law, and the prohibition against articles being written in the journals by persons expelled from France. Anxious above all things as Cavour was to propitiate the Emperor of the French, as the only power to whom he could look for aid in his plans for emancipating Italy, he revolted against demands so fatal to the independence of Sardinia. Victor Emmanuel cut the knot of the difficulty by boldly writing to the Emperor with his own hand, protesting a sincere desire to please him, but at the same time declaring that there were certain things which he could not do; and that, if driven too far, he would go, like his ancestors of Savoy, to defend his crown upon the Alps. The letter, like the firmness shown by the English Ministry, had its effect. The Emperor, wiser than his Minister, took the affair into his own hands; and Count Walewski, when he redoubled his importunities, found to his discomfiture that his master had written a reply to Victor Emmanuel, which had in effect settled matters by telling him 'to do the best he could, and not to feel uneasy.' See on this subject *Le Comte de Cavour*, par Charles de Mazade. Paris, 1877, pp. 197–202.

such an unseemly outburst of feeling in favour of the friend of a reckless murderer and assassin, as the expression of national feeling. But it was no easy task for him to bring those around him, who bore no love to this country, to the same conclusion. The very fact that Bernard's acquittal was in a great measure a protest against the menaces of his colonels, and an intimation that Englishmen would not obey the call of a foreign monarch to avenge him on his enemies, although capable of being appreciated by himself, was a fresh provocation to those who were eager to seize any pretext for breaking up the alliance. The wiser heads among those about him counselled silence. General Pélissier, who was now in England, and soon saw how thoroughly friendly to France the people of this country were, was among the number of these. '*Il faut rester impassible*,' he said to the Prince, '*pour ces sortes de choses, et laisser couler l'eau sous le pont.*' In this view our Ambassador, on returning to Paris, after a short visit to London, found the Emperor himself disposed to concur. His feeling was one of regret, rather than of anger. His views, he told Lord Cowley, had never varied. He had always desired a cordial alliance with Great Britain, and his policy continued unchanged by what had occurred. But he was full of apprehension that, if things went on as they were doing, the people of the two countries might become estranged, and that all the efforts of the two Governments might not avail to prevent a rupture. This apprehension proved to be unfounded. Time, the great purifier of popular as well as of individual passion, wrought its usual effect, and the reciprocal interests of the two countries were not long in obliterating the traces of this temporary estrangement.

Meanwhile, a more imminent danger to European peace lay in the controversy between Sardinia and Naples, which had arisen from the illegal seizure by Neapolitan cruisers, in

June 1857, of the *Cagliari*, a Sardinian mail-steamer, running between Genoa and Cagliari, in Sardinia, and Tunis. Among the crew on board were two English engineers, who had been thrown, with the rest of the crew, into a Neapolitan prison. Count Cavour had taken up the question warmly, maintaining that the capture was illegal, and had been made beyond Neapolitan jurisdiction. Lord Derby's Government had inherited this perplexed question, which was one that, with Count Cavour's well-known ideas about an united Italy, and the sympathies of the French Emperor in the same direction, stimulated as they had been by Orsini's appeal, might easily become a cause of war. England could not well avoid taking part in any outbreak, for the cruel treatment of the two English engineers had enlisted the feeling of this country on the same side with Sardinia.

Lord Derby's Government took up the question with an energy which contrasted favourably with the vacillating and timid action of their predecessors. At this time it was obvious that a larger issue than the surrender of the vessel and her crew was at stake, and the Prince, as we gather from his correspondence, even looked upon the peace of Europe as in actual danger. Thanks to the firm attitude taken up by the English Cabinet, this danger was for the time averted. Early in June Mr. Disraeli was able to announce the unconditional surrender by the Neapolitan Government of the English engineers. An offer by our Government to accept the Swedish Government as mediator, coupled with an intimation that this was done merely to show our desire for moderation, when we were entitled to accompany our demands by force, brought the Neapolitan Government to reason. Accordingly, a few days later Mr. Disraeli intimated that the difference was at an end, Naples having agreed to pay 3,000*l.* as an indemnity to the English prisoners, and to place the ship and its crew at the disposal

of the English Government, by whom they were soon afterwards restored to the Sardinian authorities.

This and the other questions to which we have alluded were still in suspense, when the Prince wrote the following letter to his political confessor at Coburg:—

'The Duke of Malakoff has been presented on his appointment, and has dined with us. He is very much shorter and less stout, as well as younger, than he has been depicted. He speaks with the greatest frankness about the state of France, and the measures of his master, of which he entirely disapproves,—is unhappy at having to go into society, which he detests, but flattered at being ambassador, and so well received in England. As a diplomatist he will be difficult to manage, because he is ignorant of all the details of business, but his influence as a man may be useful.

'Our jury has now acquitted Simon Bernard, after the clearest evidence of his guilt, and the Emperor can regard this as nothing else than what it really is, the determination of the English people to protect and shield his enemies from his oppression. I fear, he is at this moment meditating some Italian development, which is to serve as a lightning conductor, and ever since Orsini's letter he has been all for Italian independence; only the Pope and the compact with the Church, which is useful to him at home, stand in his way.[3] A conflict between Sardinia and Naples might, however, look as though he had nothing to do with it, even though it should set all Italy in a blaze. The materials for the con-

[3] The Emperor of the French had long lost all patience with the Pope for his obstinate refusal to reform his government, and regretted deeply the presence of French troops in Rome, which he would have been very glad to remove could he have seen the way to do so. This desire could scarcely fail to be strengthened by the revelations brought to light by the Orsini plot of the intensity of anger caused among Italian Liberals by the continued presence of these troops in Rome.

flagration are ready in abundance, and would even suffice to spread the flames as far as Germany.

'Yesterday the Budget was introduced into the Lower House. There will be no end of trouble yet with the India Bill. The Ministers obviously came to a private understanding with Lord John, when they decided to fall back from their own Bill upon a set of Resolutions, and the object of the manœuvre possibly was merely to take the reins out of Lord Palmerston's hands.

'The Radicals still entertain a bitter hatred towards Lord Palmerston. Meanwhile a weak Government leads, as it always does, to a further weakening of the power of Government, which again redounds solely to the advantage of the press.

'My plans for being at Coburg about the 27th of May continue to assume consistency, and the pleasure of seeing you again and of having some talk with you will be a great one for me, should fortune continue to favour my project.

'Buckingham Palace, 20th April, 1858.'

It is pleasant to turn from all this turmoil of political complication and strife to one of the Prince's delightful letters to his daughter at Berlin. Here is one, full of his own high purpose, and calm practical wisdom :—

'Buckingham Palace, 28th April, 1858.

'. . . What you are now living through, observing, and doing, are the most important experiences, impressions and acts of your life, for they are the first of a life independent and responsible to itself. That outside of and in close proximity to your true and tranquillising happiness with dear Fritz your path of life is not wholly smooth, I regard as a most fortunate circumstance for you, inasmuch as it forces you to exercise and to strengthen the powers of your mind. Only keep a con-

stant guard upon yourself and be not seduced by familiarity into approval of that which, while it was unfamiliar, the reason could not recognise as either good or fitting (*zweckmässig*). This it is which makes the difference between a feeble soul and a strong one, that while the former suffers itself to be the slave of circumstances, the latter accommodates itself to them upon rational grounds and keeps its judgment unfettered.

'I am delighted to see by your letter of the 24th, that you deliberate gravely upon your budget, and I will be most happy to look through it, if you send it to me; this is the only way to have a clear idea to one's self of what one has, spends, and ought to spend. As this is a business of which I have had long and frequent experience, I will give you one rule for your guidance in it, viz. to set apart a considerable balance *pour l'imprévu*. This gentleman is the costliest of guests in life, and we shall look very blank if we have nothing to set before him. Therefore keep a large margin upon which you can draw for all that cannot be calculated beforehand, and reduce all the expenses capable of previous estimate courageously so low as to obtain for yourself a considerable margin. Fate, accident, time, and the world care very little for "a previous estimate," but ask for their due with rude impetuosity. Later retrenchments to meet them do not answer, because the demands of ordinary life have shaped themselves a good deal according to the estimates, and have thus acquired a legitimate power.

'. . . We have only rarely bought any of the works of the English water-colour school for ourselves, but we have made gifts to each other of the pictures. The pleasure these give us becomes in this way a twofold pleasure.'

The Prince was now able to see his way tolerably clearly to an early meeting with his daughter. His delight at the

prospect breaks out in the following letter to Baron Stockmar a few days afterwards (7th May):—

'May is somewhat advanced, and hitherto I see no reason why I may not carry out my plan of being at Coburg towards the end of the month. What pleasure it will be to me to see you again and, I hope, in improved health! I trust you also feel some pleasure at the prospect.

'Yesterday the young Queen of Portugal arrived here with her father and brother. Her mother felt herself so much upset at Ostend by the strain upon her emotions, that she had to return to Düsseldorf, instead of coming on here with her daughter. We are greatly pleased with the young Queen; she is most amiable, unassuming, and genial, and goodness of heart is written upon her face. She proceeds on Tuesday to Portugal.

'We have nothing but good news from Vicky. The sprain of her foot, which alarmed us greatly at first, is declared by the doctor to be of no moment, and will not mar our rendezvous. I enclose a copy of a portion of the Princess of Prussia's last letter, which will delight you as much as it has me. Prince Hohenzollern, moreover, confirms all she says, only with heightened colours.

'Bertie is at Richmond for the sake of study. His *entourage* and the system pursued are complete.'

The Prince and Queen were both deeply impressed with the young Queen of Portugal. His entry in his Diary the day of her arrival at the Palace is: '*Sie ist eine gar liebliche Erscheinung*'[1]—*gut und einfach*.—She is a vision of rare loveliness, good and simple.' On the day she left England, the Queen, too, writes of her to King Leopold: 'I

[1] This phrase has no exact correlative in English. Wordsworth's 'lovely apparition sent, To be a moment's ornament,' comes near it, but it does not express the spiritual, angel-like beauty, that is suggested by the German words.

see by your kind letter how much struck you were, as we have been, by the inexpressibly dear and pure and good expression of her fine eyes. Their look says more than words can. . . . People here were delighted with her; but who would not like and love the dear gentle child?'

The winning charm of the young Queen's look seems to have been of the kind which one loves yet almost dreads to see:—

'the light
In the dark eyes, prophetic of the doom
Heaven gives its favourites—early death.'

But no such thought of one so young, so beautiful, so seemingly full of life, was present to her Royal hosts, although, in the letter just quoted, the Queen confesses to a feeling of melancholy at parting from her. Of the image which she left in the Prince's mind, an exquisite picture is presented inthe following passage from a letter (12th May) to his daughter at Berlin:—

'Dear Stephanie parted from us yesterday at 10 o'clock, and has left a most pleasing impression in all our hearts. She is so good, simple, and unassuming, and has an expression in her eyes which I do not remember to have seen in those of any one else—a kind of wistfulness and trustful entreaty, to which one would fain tender every knightly service and protection. She will be sure to please Pedro. She attached herself to us with childlike devotion. Yesterday evening at six she embarked at Plymouth, where she will have to go through the pain of parting from her father, who is to return to us to-morrow. It will be a very distressing moment for her. We too know from experience and can comprehend the pangs it will cost her.'

CHAPTER LXXXV.

THE month of April had brought tidings of great successes in India. Chief of these was the fall of Lucknow, which, after having held out for nine months against us in the hands of the rebels, was at last reconquered. After many days of hard fighting, Sir Colin Campbell had secured complete possession of the city. The rebels by whom it had been occupied were scattered in hopeless confusion, and it seemed as if the most formidable remnant of organised military opposition to our rule in India had now been effectually broken. The words of Lord Derby's letter (3rd May) to Sir Colin Campbell, announcing Her Majesty's intention to raise him to the dignity of a Peer of the United Kingdom, in recognition of his 'eminent and brilliant services,' expressed the general feeling of the country:—

'Sanguine as were the hopes which Her Majesty had entertained of the results which might be expected from your appointment (as Commander-in-Chief of the armies in India), you have more than realised them all; and the judicious manner in which you have formed your plans of operation; the steadiness, patience, and perseverance with which you have carried them out; the care you have at all times taken not unnecessarily to throw away the lives of your troops, not less than the energy and vigour with which, at the right time, you have known how to strike the decisive blow, and the determination with which it has been struck, have merited, and have received, Her Majesty's most cordial approval.'

In anticipation of the fall of Lucknow, Lord Canning had

prepared a Proclamation, to be published forthwith throughout the Province of Oude, in which he declared the proprietary right in the soil of the province to be confiscated, with the exception of the lands of a few Rajahs and others, who had been steadfast in their allegiance to British authority. In the same Proclamation, however, he had held out a promise of a restitution of their former rights to the chiefs and landholders who should come forward promptly and give assistance in the restoration of peace and order throughout the province, assuring them that, if they did so, the Governor-General would be ready to view their claims liberally. By the mail which carried the official Despatch to England that accompanied this Proclamation, Lord Canning wrote an unofficial letter to Mr. Vernon Smith, in which he mentioned that he had wished to accompany it with an explanation of his reasons for adopting what seemed the severe course of so sweeping a confiscation, but that it was impossible to find leisure to do so in time for the mail.

By the time this letter and the Despatch reached England (12th April) Mr. Vernon Smith had given place as President of the Board of Control to Lord Ellenborough, and he did not communicate the unofficial letter to his successor. Lord Ellenborough, therefore, was not put upon his guard, as he might otherwise have been. If he had seen the private letter to Mr. Vernon Smith, he might have thought it only fair, before deciding on the policy announced in the Proclamation, to wait for the explanation which Lord Canning had desired to give. Still, even without such warning, it was the barest justice to one who had hitherto proved himself so fit to cope with the immense responsibilities of his position to have assumed that the measure had not been adopted without substantial, possibly conclusive, reasons, however harsh it might appear upon the face of the Proclamation to be. In any case, if the Government at home thought the measure unwise, the

courtesies of official life, not to say the rules under which government of a distant possession is alone possible, required that any remonstrance which they thought it their duty to make should be addressed to the Governor-General himself, and should not be made public. No measure short of one which demanded his immediate recall could have justified a departure from this rule.

No sooner, however, did the draft of the Proclamation reach Lord Ellenborough than he penned what was called a 'Secret Despatch,' in which the man who, for his forbearance and justice to the natives of India, had been ridiculed by his opponents as 'Clemency Canning,' was condemned in language of studied bitterness for having abandoned the 'generous policy by which other conquerors who had succeeded in overcoming resistance had extended their policy to the great body of the people, and had struck at the mass of the inhabitants of the country with what they would feel as the severest of punishments.' The letter of Lord Canning quoted in a previous chapter (*supra*, p. 181) has shown how little likely he was to lay himself open to such a charge; but indeed all the acts of his administration ought to have made the writer of this invective pause in the moulding of his pungent periods. Not content, moreover, with his censure of Lord Canning, Lord Ellenborough went out of his way in the same Despatch to throw doubt upon the English title to the supremacy of Oude, the opportunity of discrediting Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation having apparently been irresistible, even at a moment when we had only just re-asserted our hold upon the province at a terrible sacrifice of blood and treasure.

To have penned such a despatch said little for the writer's discretion; but what could be thought of the headstrong rashness of giving it publicity in England three weeks before it could possibly reach the hands of Lord Canning? Even

before its existence was made known to the Queen, copies had been placed in the hands of several persons, Mr. Bright among the number. This had led that gentleman to ask a question on the subject in the House of Commons. The question had been anticipated, and the Under-Secretary of State for India had been authorised by Lord Ellenborough to promise in reply, that the Despatch itself should be laid on the table of the House. The same night Mr. Disraeli announced that the Government disapproved the policy of the Proclamation 'in every sense,'—an announcement which, as mentioned by Lord Canning himself (17th June), in a subsequent Despatch, devoted to what was admitted to be a triumphant vindication of his policy, was instantly 'carried by the telegraph over the length and breadth of India.'

When these facts came to the knowledge of the Queen, Her Majesty felt deeply the unfairness and irregularity of the whole proceeding, and the danger likely to ensue from the diffusion of the document throughout India. Meanwhile the sensation created in the political world by the wilful act of Lord Ellenborough, adopted without even consulting his colleagues, very quickly brought home to Lord Derby the consciousness that a fatal misfake had been committed. On the 9th of May the Queen wrote to him that, while she was anxious not to add to Lord Derby's difficulties, she must not leave unnoticed the fact that the Despatch in question ought never to have been sent without having been submitted to the Sovereign. 'She hopes,' Her Majesty added, 'that Lord Derby will take care that Lord Ellenborough shall not repeat this, which must place her in a most embarrassing position.'

But Lord Ellenborough had already fallen into the same irregularity by sending out another Despatch (dated 5th May) to the Governor-General, prescribing the line of policy to be adopted for the pacification of Oude. Of the very exis-

tence of this document Lord Derby was unaware till the 12th, two days after it had left England. It was equally unknown to his colleagues; and in sending a copy of it to the Queen on the 13th, Lord Derby mentioned this fact, and spoke of it as 'another instance of the principle on which Lord Ellenborough acted, and which was sure to cause embarrassment.' Fortunately this Despatch was as unexceptionable in its character as the previous one had been the reverse, and only laid down principles which Lord Canning had over and over again declared to be those by which his whole policy was guided.

So much was this the case that, in replying to Lord Derby, Her Majesty writes: 'The Despatch now before me for the first time is very good and just in prineiple, but the Queen would be much surprised if it did not entirely coincide with the views of Lord Canning, at least as far as he has hitherto expressed any in his letters. So are also the sentiments written by Sir J. Lawrence' [in a private letter which Lord Derby had sent for Her Majesty's perusal], 'in almost the very expressions frequently used by Lord Canning. Sir J. Logie, who holds the same opinion and has great experience, does not find any fault with the Proclamation, however seemingly it may sound at variance with these opinions, and he rests this opinion on the peculiar position of affairs in Oude.

'It is a great pity,' Her Majesty continues, 'that Lord Ellenborough, with his knowledge, experience, energy, and ability, should be so entirely unable to submit to general rules of conduct. The Queen has been for some time alarmed at his writing letters of his own to all the most important Indian chiefs and kings, explaining his policy. All this renders the position of a Governor-General almost untenable, and that of the Government at home very hazardous.'

The soundness of this view had already been brought

painfully home to Lord Derby and his Cabinet. A strong feeling that Lord Canning had been most unfairly dealt with had sprung up immediately on the Secret Despatch being made public; and it was also felt that the task of restoring peace in Oude had been enormously increased by the language in which our annexation of that province had been spoken of. The Ministry were inculpated in the general opinion along with Lord Ellenborough, and it was known by the 9th that Lord Palmerston and his friends intended to move a Resolution upon the subject of the incidents connected with the Despatch, with a view of forcing the Government to resign. Notice of the motion was given the next day by Mr. Cardwell, in terms which, if carried, must lead to the resignation of the Ministry, or to a dissolution of Parliament. Notice of a motion to the same effect, but in different terms, was also given in the House of Lords by the Earl of Shaftesbury.

In these circumstances Lord Ellenborough, taking upon himself the sole responsibility for the publication of the Despatch, tendered his resignation by letter to the Queen upon the 10th of May, and then informed Lord Derby that he had done so. Next day Lord Derby saw Her Majesty. He had told Lord Ellenborough, he said, that, if consulted by Her Majesty, he should advise her to accept the resignation. Lord Ellenborough had expressed his belief that he had brought evil luck to the Government, as this was the second difficulty into which he had led them, the first having been the election clause in the India Bill. This was true; nevertheless he had acted, Lord Derby considered, most handsomely in tendering his resignation, which Lord Derby hoped would lead to the withdrawal of the vote of censure in the House of Commons, as he thought the House could scarcely hold the Cabinet responsible, and punish it for an act with which they had no concern. This hope the Queen and Prince

were unable to share, as it was difficult to disconnect the act of the individual from the general action of the Cabinet, and because the responsibility would be taken to rest with the Government as a body for whatever mischief might ensue from the publication of a Despatch, which had been admitted by Mr. Disraeli, in the House of Commons, to be sanctioned by their approval. As the Queen wrote to Lord Derby next day: 'The fact of the Governor-General having been publicly reprimanded, and his policy condemned, remains the same, although the Government have done what they could to mitigate the consequences of what could not be undone.'

On the same evening (10th May) on which Lord Shaftesbury gave notice of his motion, Lord Ellenborough, from his place in the House of Lords, took upon himself the whole responsibility of having given publicity to the Despatch. He added:—

'I might very properly, no doubt, have taken the letter to the Cabinet, and in the Cabinet have asked the opinions of my colleagues before deciding to make it public. That might have been the right course, but that course I did not adopt; and therefore to accuse my colleagues of any misconduct with respect to the publication of that letter is to raise a constitutional fiction. I am responsible, and let me alone bear whatever censure may be attributed to the act of publication.'

In Parliament, he went on to say, the question which had been raised would be between one party and another, Was the Government to continue or to go out? In India, however, the question would be understood to be the conflicting principles of confiscation and clemency. On the issue of the discussion might depend the hope of permanent reconciliation and peace. Resolved, therefore, to free it from all personal considerations, he had tendered his resignation, and it had been accepted.

This frank avowal did not, however, avert the danger

which now threatened the Ministry. The Opposition had closed their ranks for the moment, and were confident of carrying their motion in the House of Commons with a triumphant majority. The discussion began in both Houses of Parliament on the same evening. The Lords disposed of it at one sitting, the result being a majority of only nine in favour of the Government. In the other House the debate was protracted through several nights, and all the leading speakers on both sides took part in it. The disinclination on the part of some of those now in office to include Lord Canning's name in the vote of thanks at the beginning of the Session was skilfully made use of by their opponents as indicating a readiness to discredit his policy, in which the true reason might be found for the publication of the Secret Despatch. On the other side, Mr. Bright, Sir James Graham, Mr. Roebuck, and others denounced the action of Mr. Cardwell and his friends as a merely party move to effect the restoration of Lord Palmerston and his supporters to office; and the personal incident of Mr. Vernon Smith having omitted to hand over to his successor Lord Canning's letter expressing his regret at being unable to accompany the draft Proclamation with an 'explanation,' was brought forward and dwelt upon with damaging effect.

A speech by Lord John Russell, in his best manner, lifted the discussion to a level above the rhetoric of party strife. After pointing out that the Proclamation, qualified as it was by the offers of restitution upon submission, did not deserve the character ascribed to it by Lord Ellenborough, he spoke of Lord Canning as a statesman of experience might be expected to speak of a public servant to whom a great public wrong had been done:—

'Lord Canning,' he said, 'had been for nearly a year exposed in one of the most perilous situations, requiring the highest qualities of heart and head which a man in a high position can

need. He had to provide for the safety of a British garrison, small in numbers, which had been diminished by reinforcements and armaments sent away to other parts, with only one European regiment, I believe, in a space of 400 miles from Calcutta. He was exposed to this extensive and perilous mutiny. He had at the same time to consider the welfare of those hundred and fifty millions in India over whom he had to rule, and, placed in that position, no man can say that, while others trembled, his cheeks were ever blanched with fear—that, while the murders committed roused to frenzy the passions of the Europeans about him, his blood was ever moved to vengeance.

'What,' he continued, 'was the duty of any Government on receiving the Proclamation which had been so summarily condemned but to say,—"This is a man distinguished for his humanity. This is a Governor-General placed in a most perilous position. If we cast upon him a sudden censure, we may disable him from performing the duties of his office. There is no character of fierceness and cruelty about him, which should induce us to withhold our confidence, or to believe that he has surrendered his humane and rational intentions with regard to the people of Oude." If that had been their belief, they might have written a Despatch conveying their general views concerning confiscation, asking for explanations, and recommending in general terms a policy of mercy. If such a Despatch had been written, if, as is usual with Despatches when great affairs are being transacted, it had been refused to those who wished it produced, I think it would have been but fair and common justice to Lord Canning, and not only fair and common justice to Lord Canning, but justice to your own Empire.'

Not less forcible and sound were the terms in which Lord John Russell spoke of those parts of the Secret Despatch which threw discredit on our right to put down as rebellion the rising of the native chiefs of Oude:—

'Hitherto it has always been the practice for a Government, on coming into office, to accept the settlements which have been made by former Governments, and when a conquest has been made, a war entered into, or an acquisition secured to the Crown, not to look any further into the abstract merits of the question, but to

adopt that which has been done to carry on the war, and to defend those acquisitions. In this manner alone can the policy of the Empire be carried on with safety. . . . If you were to be perpetually entering into discussions with regard to the justice and wisdom of wars gone by, you could have no stable policy. That is the way in which the government of this great Empire has hitherto been carried on, that is the way in which, despite of our party battles—spite of gentlemen sitting first on one side and then on another,—this great Empire has been built up, and it is the only way in which it can be maintained. If you are to say, as this Despatch says, or rather insinuates, which is a great deal worse, that the annexation of Oude was unrighteous and unprincipled, and done in defiance of treaties, and that therefore the hostilities going on in Oude were legitimate warfare, and that not Her Majesty's troops, but the rebels and mutineers, were the real defenders of the right, do not think that your Empire can last.'

Next day (16th May) Lord Derby waited on the Queen with letters to Lord Ellenborough from Lord Canning, which had just been received, from which it was evident that Lord Canning thought he was actually taking a most merciful course, and was full of hope that when the terms of the Proclamation became known to the chiefs of the province, they would accept them, and the work of pacification would go rapidly on. Events proved that he was right. In a Memorandum in the Prince's autograph of what passed at this interview, it is remarked: 'Lord Ellenborough's, and indeed the Government's, hearts must have had curious sensations in reading Lord Canning's frank declaration, that he did not mean to resign on hearing of the formation of the Tory Government unless told to do so, and that he had no fears he would find Indian affairs dealt with by the Government at home in a way implying want of confidence in his administration, because he felt sure that against this he was safe in their hands.'

Meanwhile, as the debate proceeded, further papers were

received; among others a letter from the Governor-General to Sir James Outram, as Chief Commissioner in Oude, in which he combated and refuted the objections raised by Sir James Outram to the Proclamation. This document showed conclusively that Lord Canning had not acted either hastily or with undue severity, and that the case was one of extreme delicacy and difficulty. In returning these papers to Lord Derby (21st May) Her Majesty wrote: 'Lord Ellenborough must be taken to have acted hastily in at once condemning Lord Canning, and unfairly to him in doing this on private information, without hearing the Governor-General on the other side. It is always dangerous to keep up a private correspondence with inferior officers, allowing them to criticise their superiors, but it is subversive of all good government to act at once on the opinion given by inferiors.'

Powerful speeches by Sir James Graham, Mr. Bright, and others against Mr. Cardwell's motion had shown that the Opposition were far from unanimous in their views, and when the debate was adjourned to the 21st it was rumoured that Mr. Gladstone would speak on the same side on what was understood to be the last night of the discussion. Other defections from the Liberal ranks were broadly hinted at. In fact, a feeling had become general, that while the fault of the Ministry had been sufficiently expiated by Lord Ellenborough's resignation, the character and policy of Lord Canning had been satisfactorily vindicated by the debate. Thus, what had seemed to Mr. Cardwell and his friends a certainty of success when the debate began was becoming more and more likely to result in a defeat. When the House met, no fewer than six hundred members were present, and the greatest excitement prevailed, but it soon became obvious that the debate would collapse. Member after member rose upon the Opposition side to entreat Mr. Cardwell to withdraw his motion. At first he declined to do so,

but the pressure was continued; Mr. Cardwell then took counsel with Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. The result of their deliberations was, that Lord Palmerston rose and announced the withdrawal of the motion, amid general acclamation. Thus what had threatened to prove a disaster to the Government resulted in a practical victory, more advantageous to them than even a division in their favour would have been, revealing as it did something very like anarchy in the ranks of their opponents.[1]

The Government were now free to prosecute the Resolutions on which their new India Bill was intended to be based. The most important of these having been carried by large majorities, the rest were withdrawn, and on the 17th of June the Bill was introduced. On perusing it the Queen wrote (20th May) to Lord Stanley, who had succeeded Lord Ellenborough as President of the Board of Control, that it struck her 'as a great improvement on the former ones,' and that she was 'consequently not sorry for the delay and discussion which have led to a more matured measure.' A few days afterwards Mr. Disraeli wrote to Her Majesty that such satisfactory progress had been made with the Bill in the House of Commons that it might be regarded as safe; and he added:—

[1] In a speech at a Conservative banquet at Slough a few nights afterwards (26th May), for which Mr. Disraeli was subsequently attacked in both Houses of Parliament, he gave the following humorous description of the collapse of Mr. Cardwell's motion: 'We were all assembled; our benches, with their serried ranks, seemed to rival those of our proud opponents, when suddenly there arose a wail of distress—but not from us; I can only liken the scene to the mutiny of the Bengal army. Regiment after regiment, corps after corps, general after general—all acknowledged that they could not march through Coventry. It was like a convulsion of nature rather than any ordinary transaction of human life. I can only liken it to one of those earthquakes which take place in Calcutta or Peru; there was a rumbling murmur, a groan, a shriek, a sound of distant thunder. No one knew whether it came from the top or bottom of the House. There was a rent, a fissure in the ground; and then a village disappeared; then a tall tower toppled down; and the whole of the Opposition benches became one great dissolving view of anarchy.'

'It is, the Chancellor of the Exchequer really thinks, a wise and well-digested measure, ripe with the experience of the last five months of discussion; but it is only the ante-chamber of an imperial palace, and your Majesty would do well to deign to consider the steps which are now necessary to influence the opinions, and affect the imaginations of the Indian populations. The name of your Majesty ought to be impressed upon their native life.'

Before the Bill became law, however, its provisions underwent much discussion in both Houses. As with most measures subjected to considerable alteration during their progress, clauses were admitted in the House of Commons, which, on further consideration, the Ministry found to be objectionable.[2] Their defects were cured by the House of Lords, but some important amendments made there, upon the suggestion of Lord Derby, were strenuously resisted in the House of Commons, although ultimately carried after a division by a large majority. It was therefore the 2nd of August before this measure, so important to what was thenceforth an integral part of the British Empire, became law.

While the discussions on Mr. Cardwell's motion were still proceeding, and the result still doubtful, a fresh catastrophe occurred in the family of Louis-Philippe. On the 18th of May the Duchess of Orleans died suddenly at Cranbourne

[2] One of these was a clause proposed by Mr. Gladstone, which in its original form would have deprived the Crown of the power to use the Indian forces in war, 'except for repelling actual invasion of Her Majesty's Indian possessions, or under other sudden and urgent necessity, without the consent of Parliament,' thus depriving the Crown of one of its undoubted prerogatives. The objection to the clause on this ground was, curiously enough, strongly urged by several speakers among the advanced Liberals, but without effect. On having his attention called to it by the Queen, Lord Derby felt the gravity of the oversight, and the clause (the 55th of the India Bill, 21 & 22 Vict. cap. 106) was amended by providing that, except for the purposes above mentioned, the revenues of India should not be applied without the consent of Parliament to defray the expense of military operations beyond the external frontier of our Indian possessions. By this the prerogative of the Crown and the control of Parliament were both saved.

House, Richmond, and the Prince hurried down to the desolate home, where, his Diary records, 'he found the whole family, with the exception of Queen Marie Amélie [who was at Claremont, and unwell], in a terrible state.' The same day the Queen wrote to King Leopold from Buckingham Palace:—

'Alas, another calamity has befallen the unhappy Orleans family! Dear excellent Hélène died suddenly this morning of the same illness [influenza] which at one moment threatened to carry off Robert, from which Gaston is just recovering, and the Queen still suffering. I tremble at the consequences of this new blow, coming upon her within seven months of our beloved Victoire's death. It is very, very awful. The misfortunes of that family are unparalleled! The poor sons! What is to become of them at a moment when a mother is so important, and when a mother's roof is of such essential use to young men? . . .[3]

'Albert has just returned from Richmond, where he found all the family around the lifeless body of dear Hélène—a sad repetition of November! The poor sons are in a dreadful state of distress. I will go to-morrow to Twickenham to see the Aumales, and possibly the sons.

'We are living in a Ministerial crisis. We shall, however, go to Osborne on Thursday, as the debate will not be over till Friday, and I hope we shall not be called up here next week. I think the fear of a dissolution may give the Government a majority.'

As we have seen, the Ministerial crisis here referred to passed away. The Whitsuntide recess had now come, and the

[3] The Comte de Paris was then in his twentieth year, the Duc de Chartres still under age, and towards him M. Trognon, in his admirable Life of that distinguished lady (p. 439), says, the Queen Marie Amélie assumed at once the attitude of a mother. 'Dès son bas âge,' he writes, 'elle s'était fait un aimable jeu de l'appeler *son Chevalier*, et ce titre avait inspiré à l'enfant pour son aïeule un sentiment de filiale allégeance, dont elle comptait se prévaloir pour remplacer complétement auprès de lui sa mère.'

Prince was therefore free to make his excursion to Coburg. But he was to be disappointed of meeting the Princess Royal and her husband there, for a bad sprain of one of her feet, and some consequent derangement in health, made it impossible for her to travel from Berlin. When this unwelcome news reached the Prince, he wrote to Baron Stockmar :—

'I have just heard that now Vicky will, in all probability, not be able to come to Coburg. Should this turn out to be the case, I shall be deprived of a great pleasure. As I start two evenings hence, and calculate on being at Coburg on the 29th, I must, in that untoward case, try to adopt your original plan, and to cut down my stay in Coburg from five days to three, so as to have two to spare for Babelsberg, on which I must then make a sudden descent and take them by surprise. To do this with effect, however, no hint of my intention must reach them beforehand.

'To an early happy meeting!

'Osborne, 25th May, 1858.'

'P.S.—Doubtless you have been deeply grieved by the sudden death of the good Duchess of Orleans.'

On the afternoon of the 27th the Prince started for Germany by way of Dover and Ostend, accompanied by his equerry, Colonel H. Ponsonby, and by his librarian, Dr. Becker. The incidents of his journey may be gathered in the following extracts translated from his letters to the Queen :—

'Two words to tell you that we are (half-past five P.M.) on the point of starting.

'Philippe [Count of Flanders] has just come on board. The first night, so far as trying to sleep went, was "a gigantic failure." The *Vivid* rolled terribly, owing to a heavy ground swell, and, after tumbling from the couch, mattress and all, I established myself upon the floor. Still, no one was ill,

only very uncomfortable. I must be off. Say all that is kind to Mama and the children.

'*Vivid*.' Ostend, 28th May, 1858.'

'On board the *Hermann*: betwixt Kaub and Bingen, 28th May, 1858. 10.30 P.M.

'I am going to bed presently, but before doing so will wish you "Good-night!" You will have got my telegram all right, and the Princess [of Prussia] intended to telegraph when she got back to Coblenz. She accompanied me from Remagen to Stolzenfels, looks well, and was full of talk the whole way. Prince Hohenzollern bade me good-by at Remagen. The night is fine. The boat shakes so that I can scarcely write. Again, "Good-night," darling!'

'Cassel, opposite Mayence, 29th May, 1858. 4 A.M.

'I am just going to breakfast, and land in half an hour, so as to catch the express train to Frankfort. The sight of Mayence reminds me of 1828, when we visited Uncle Mensdorff here, along with poor Grandmama of Coburg, then again in 1832, and finally with you. How much has changed since then! Farewell! Now we move on without stopping.'

'I write to you, just before going to sleep, from the Palace of Coburg. I have this moment returned from the theatre, where Ernest's *Santa Chiara* was very well given, and there I struggled manfully to keep drowsiness at bay. Now my eyes, however, are greatly minded to close! Ernest met me at Füllbach. I found Alexandrine [Duchess of Coburg] and Ernest Würtemberg here, the latter looking very well, with a long beard and moustache.

'We had dinner at half-past three *en petit comité*. This over, I walked with Ernest and Alexandrine in the Hofgarten, and from there to the Festung, which is now united with

the garden in one park, laid out most successfully in a way that does Ernest the greatest credit. After we came down again, past the grand Catholic church,—which Augustus, the Pope, and all manner of bishops and pious souls are erecting upon the terrace of the Hofgarten, right in front of the Palace,—I went with Ernest to Stockmar, who had just come in from a long walk. He looked extremely well, walked briskly, and spoke with cheerfulness and vigour, which was a great pleasure to me. Then it was time to dress for the theatre. I had made good resolutions in my own mind against going, but these I found give way. Ah me! On the whole, the impression on my mind is one of profound sadness! I have become an utter stranger here, and know scarcely any one, while those I used to know have aged so much that I find it hard to puzzle out the old faces again. . . .

'Young Stockmar is here, sent by Vicky with a letter to me, expressing her regrets in the most doleful tones! When she wrote, she had not received my letter holding out the prospect of a visit to Babelsberg; I have heard from her since in raptures. . . .

'Coburg, 29th May, 1858.'

'You will have received my telegraphic despatch of this morning; nevertheless I will continue my evening report. We went to the Palace, where a mediocre sermon and a fine full chanting of chorales, combined with the impressions of bygone days, constituted my devotions. A number of children were confirmed on the same spot where Ernest and myself pronounced our confession of faith.[4] After church Stockmar came to me, and remained for an hour and a half. . . . After this I went with Ernest and Alexandrine to the new burial-ground and the mausoleum, which is indeed very

[4] See vol. i. *supra*, p. 10.

beautiful and appropriate; then to the Museum, where I once more hailed with delight all the birds, butterflies, stones, and shells, and called to mind every circumstance connected with their acquisition; thence to a magnificent new brewery, opposite the meadow in the direction of the new railway station, which has been placed between the brewery and Ernest Würtemberg's garden, and so up to Ernest Würtemberg's. We did not find him at home, but we saw the familiar beautiful view. Thence to the new barracks, and so home. Here I received before dinner the deputation of the magistracy. The dinner was in the throne-room, and we went straight from it to the opera, *La Sonnambula*.

'I got up with a headache and general *malaise*, and have kept these two uninvited guests with me till now. I have eaten nothing all the day, to rob my stomach of the shadow of a pretext for behaving ill. I will now take "a draught" and go to bed, but not without first wishing you "Good-night!" There goes the watchman's horn, a proof that he still exists, of which we recently expressed our doubts at Osborne. Mention this to Mama.

'Coburg, 30th May, 1858.'

'I cannot let the day close without writing you a word. The telegram about Indian affairs has caused me much anxiety. Things are in anything but a good position, and Adrian Hope is a great loss; neither can I hear without regret of failures with 100 killed.[5] Pray let poor Lady Peel

[5] The Prince here alludes to a repulse of a body of infantry in an advance which had been ordered (14th April), without first taking a proper *reconnaissance*, by General Walpole, against a fort in the occupation of Nurput Singh, one of the Oude chiefs. In this ill-advised affair Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope, of the 93rd Highlanders, one of the ablest and most popular of the officers whom the campaigns in the Crimea and in India had brought into prominence, was killed. The heavy loss sustained in this incautious advance seemed the more lamentable when it was found next morning that the enemy had evacuated the fort over-night.

know how deeply I take part in her loss. That he should fall a victim to the small-pox, that brave Sir William, was indeed too sad. . . .[6]

'The Rosenau was truly lovely to-day, though it rained now and then, and the Festung has become a most interesting museum. I plucked flowers for you at the Rosenau, which, however, wait for the courier, who had not arrived up to eleven this evening. I must to bed. My fasting-cure of yesterday has done me good, and I am all right again to-day.

'Coburg, 31st May, 1858.'

'At last I receive a few lines from you. The courier arrived before we started for the Kalenberg, where we spent the day under scorching heat. I have just returned from the theatre, where we saw the *Graf von Schwerin*, a piece by young Herr von Meyern (Ernest's secretary, whose brother is in India). It was very well acted,—a Ritter-Drama, full of political allusions to Denmark, Germany, and Holstein, which were received by the audience with great cheering. . . .

'The Kalenberg has become very beautiful; Ernest has almost entirely rebuilt it. We did not fail to visit, among other things, Arthur [Mensdorff's] "strange" tower. . . .

[6] Captain Sir William Peel, K.C.B., was the third, and, it was said at the time, the favourite son of the late Sir Robert Peel. He died of small-pox on the 27th of April at Cawnpore, aged thirty-three. On the 30th of May the Queen wrote to Lord Derby: 'The news from India are not cheering. The death of Sir William Peel, one of the brightest ornaments of the navy, has caused the Queen the deepest concern.' In a Gazette Extraordinary (30th) Lord Canning thus spoke of this distinguished man: 'The loss of his daring but thoughtful courage, joined with eminent abilities, is a very heavy one to the country; but it is not more to be deplored than the loss of the influence which his earnest character, admirable temper, and gentle, kindly bearing exercised over all within his reach; an influence which was exerted unceasingly for the public good, and of which the Governor-General believes that it may with truth be said there is not a man of any rank or profession who, having been associated with Sir William Peel in these times of anxiety and danger, has not felt and acknowledged it.'

'Well, I have not thanked you as I ought for your dear words. I am glad you have gone to Alverbank[7] and enjoyed your visit. Tell Affie that he is much talked about here, and that the people have taken a great fancy to him. . . .

'We are to be stirring by seven, so I must stop, for it is late.

'Thank Mama and the children for their letters, and give them some of the pansies which go to you in a tin case. They are from the terrace at the Rosenau under your windows. The cowslips I gathered at the Schweizerei. Make tea of them, in honour of me, and let Bertie have some.

'Coburg, 1st June, 1858.'

'I will not let the day close without writing you a line. We left Coburg this morning about seven, in the midst of a violent storm, which had ceased by the time we reached the Rosenau, and drove up the Fischbacher Pass. By one we reached Oberhof. . . . After breakfasting there we drove to Reinhardsbrunn. The heat was insufferable. . . . Reinhardsbrunn was wonderfully beautiful. Ernest has built much and well. The church has been freshly done up. We reached Friedrichsthal about half-past six. Mama (Dowager Duchess of Coburg) was very affectionate, but she has grown very old, and begins to resemble our late Grandmama. We dined with her *à trois*.

'Now I am going to bed tired. God bless you!

'Gotha, 2nd June, 1858.'

'. . . I have just left the dinner-table. . . . The heat is frightful, still I am quite well. I must pack up and dress for my journey, as I have to go to the railway between eleven and twelve.

[7] The cottage opposite to the Isle of Wight, where Prince Alfred was at this time pursuing his studies for the navy.

'I shall be in Grossbeeren by six in the morning, where Fritz will meet me and take me to Babelsberg. In this way I avoid Berlin.

'To-day has been spent in seeing sights in the town, all the collections in the Palace, &c. &c.

'The designs for the [Indian] medals are thoroughly destitute of brains and thought. Ponsonby writes my views on the subject to Phipps; I address the box, however, to you.

'Gotha, 3rd June, 1858, 10 P.M.

'I enclose a forget-me-not from Grandmama's grave.'

'Babelsberg, 4th June, 1858.

'Your letters reached me to-day by the Berlin messenger. My hearty thanks for them! Fritz met me this morning at Grossbeeren, and about nine I reached Babelsberg, where Vicky and the Prince received me. . . . The relation between the young people is all that can be desired. . . . I have had long talks with them both, singly and together, which gave me the greatest satisfaction.

'Fritz Karl paid me a visit before dinner (about two o'clock), and tall Albert (*fils*) after dinner. The King and the Queen, with the Prince and Princess, came about half-past seven. The King in uniform, with helmet and sword.

'*5th June.*—I got so far before going to sleep yesterday; I will now resume. The King looks frightfully ill; he was very cordial and friendly, and for the half hour he stayed with us, did not once get confused, but complained greatly about his state of health. He is thin and fallen away over his whole body, with a large stomach, his face grown quite small. He made many attempts at joking in the old way, but with a voice quite broken, and features full of pain. "*Wenn ich einmal fort bin, wieder fort bin,*" he said, grasping his forehead, and striking it, "then the Queen must pay

us a visit here, it will make me so happy." What he meant was, "*Wenn ich wieder wohl bin.*" "It is so tedious," he murmured; thus it is plainly to be seen, that he has not quite given up all thought of getting better. The Prince's whole aim is to be serviceable to his brother. He still walks very lame, but looks well. I kept quietly in the house all day with Vicky, who is very sensible and good, and in the evening drove with her and Fritz through Potsdam, Charlottenhof, and Sans Souci, to pay a return visit to the King, who, however, had not come back from his drive. In the evening, about nine, we had tea upon the terrace, with curdled milk. The evening was glorious. We separated about ten.

'I will now dress. Breakfast is about nine; about ten I drive to town with Fritz to see his house, and back to dinner at two. I therefore stop. The messenger, who starts to-day, will take this letter with him. It will probably be the last, as, even if I write to-morrow, I shall arrive before my letter. I have fixed to take my leave to-morrow evening. Consequently by late on Monday night I shall probably be with you again. You may believe how heartily glad the thought of this makes me.'

The Prince could not leave Babelsberg without sending a word to tell his friend Stockmar of the satisfaction at all that he had seen of the home of the young Princess, who was so dear to them both. He wrote (6th June):—

'I have been much gratified by my visit here; the harmony between the young couple is perfect. I am well, and resume my journey this evening, after an, alas! too brief stay. The Prince I found cheerful, but the King is a sad spectacle, and physically much altered. During the half hour I was with him, he was not confused, but like a man just out of sleep.'

The same evening the Prince left Potsdam, and halting

at Düsseldorf, where he spent three hours with the Prince of Hohenzollern, he reached London at nine o'clock on the morning of the 8th, and was met by the Queen on his arrival at the Bricklayers' Arms Station. '*Bleiben den Tag über ruhig*,' is the entry in his Diary. 'Have a quiet undisturbed day.' He had not many such, each day bringing with it a multiplicity of claims on his attention, that left no portion of his long working hours unappropriated.

The fatigues of the London season, with its drawing-rooms, levees, Royal concerts and balls, were aggravated by the great heat for which this summer was remarkable. This heat the Queen and Prince had to encounter in all its fervour during a visit which they paid to Warwickshire, a few days after the Prince's return to England. A Royal visit to Birmingham had been promised, and on this occasion the Sovereign was to be the guest of the lord-lieutenant of the county, Lord Leigh, at Stoneleigh Abbey.

Early in the afternoon of the 14th, the Queen and Prince left London by railway for Coventry, from which they drove, through enormous crowds collected on the roads, to the magnificent park of their host. After the overpowering heat of the railway journey, says Her Majesty's Diary, 'the air was delicious. The country so green, the trees so fine—magnificent old oaks, hundreds of years old'—which studded the park, as the carriages drove up to the house. 'The terrace garden, with the river Avon flowing in front, and its splendid background of trees,' are noticed with delight. The Royal guests were received on alighting by Lord and Lady Leigh (a daughter of the late Marquis of Westminster), by the Duchess of Sutherland, and a numerous assemblage of distinguished guests.

No pains had been spared in the preparations for Her Majesty's reception at the Abbey, one of the finest of the 'stately homes of England.' There was much to admire in

all the internal arrangements of the house; but the Royal Diary dwells also with peculiar pleasure on 'the view from the bed-room and dressing-room on the river, which was quite charming. The air came in so refreshing and cool, and was so pleasant after London.' Among the guests at dinner that day, it is noted, were Miss Nightingale's friends, Mr. and Mrs. Bracebridge, 'who were always with her in the Crimea, and at Constantinople, elderly, plain, most excellent worthy people.' In the evening the Abbey, the same record continues, 'or rather the old gateway, was beautifully illuminated. So also was the front entrance to the house, and the flower-beds and borders in the garden were also marked out with coloured lamps. We went out after eleven to look at the illuminations, and walked round a small garden, immensely cheered by large crowds who had assembled in the Home Park, close up to the balustrade of the garden. Beautiful cool night, and yet not cold.' As the Queen walked up the steps to return to the house, a loud chorus of voices from the crowd broke into singing 'God save the Queen.' The effect of this spontaneous tribute of loyalty at midnight in such a scene was most impressive.

Next day (15th June), 'after half-an-hour's broiling in the railway,' again to quote Her Majesty's Diary, 'we were soon after noon at Birmingham, which shone clear and bright, without a particle of smoke. It was as hot as Paris; but Paris had not the dense and closely packed multitudes, and it had less heavy air. The arrangements were magnificent—the best I ever saw—the thousands all stationary, behind barriers, and the decorations most beautiful and full of taste. There were endless inscriptions of the most loyal kind, banners, flags, "*guidons*," wreaths of flowers across the streets in every direction, and so abundant as to have at every turning the most beautiful effect. There were Prussian flags, Vicky's and Fritz's initials, and a flag with Fritz

and Vicky on it, and underneath, "Long live the Prince and Princess of Prussia." Then, along the front of a house, was a scroll with "Victoria the People's Friend" in flowers wrought on cloth, and then "The Prince Consort, Long may he Live"—"The Queen, our Nation's Pride"—"God Bless our Queen! a Pattern to the World!"—"Victoria, the Queen of Peace;" others for my beloved Albert, and one as follows: "God Bless Prince Frederick of Prussia's bright Star! Health to the Blooming Rosebud afar!" Then there were inscriptions on flags, and on almost every house either our cypher or inscriptions. All was admirably done—handsomer even than Manchester. The cheering was tremendous.[8]

'We went to the Town Hall, where the heat was fearful. Here we received on a throne two Addresses, one to Albert and one to myself, and I knighted the Mayor,—"God save the Queen" having been first sung to the fine organ. Then the procession continued through countless thousands to old Aston Hall and Park, now to be converted into a people's museum and park, and to obtain which the working people have worked very hard, and subscribed very largely. Here we were received by the managers, and taken upstairs to rooms prepared for us. Many fine old pictures had been lent, and Vicky's picture (a copy of Winterhalter's) had been placed in the recess of our retiring-room. The room where we lunched with our party—Sir C. Scott (a young Baronet who has had the management of the whole proceedings, and has excellent taste), Sir H. Smith, and Mr. Bracebridge—was full of fine pictures, and beautiful things by Elkington ornamented the table. Luncheon over, we went into the Gallery, where we received Addresses (of course we read answers to them), and the managers were presented, including

[8] In his Diary the Prince says: 'The enthusiasm in Birmingham went beyond all bounds, but so, too, did the heat (*Der Enthusiasmus in Birmingham überstieg alle Grenzen, so aber auch die Hitze*).'

the working men themselves, to six of whom I said a few words. We next stepped out on the balcony, from which the park was proclaimed open. Then we went downstairs, and through the Exhibition rooms, and walked once down and back along the terrace, the people cheering us very warmly. Dear Albert is so beloved here—as, indeed, everywhere—having been here, I think, on three previous occasions for different purposes, and his love for the Arts and Sciences, and the moral improvement of the working and middle classes, and the general enlightenment of all, being so well known. A person called out in the crowd, "Quite a pattern lady!" Another, "What a darling!"

'I felt much oppressed with the heat by the time we left the hall. I had been here as a child in 1830, when it belonged to a Mr. Watts,—also at Birmingham, and at Guy's Cliff. The day became fearfully oppressive. Leaving the railway we drove to Kenilworth Castle. Albert got out to see the beautiful ruins. I had seen them as a child, and, being very tired, returned to Stoneleigh at half-past five.'

There was a large party to dinner, with many of Lord Leigh's county neighbours in the evening. The illuminations were repeated, and tempted by the stillness of the night the Queen again walked out, and was again greeted with the same enthusiasm by the crowds which thronged the park. 'At a little after eleven,' again to quote the Queen's Diary, 'we retired, and found but little air in our rooms. We watched some people on the water, and the young ladies sang; and we listened to the band, and the distant hum of voices, and the people (the crowd) sang "God save the Queen" as they had done yesterday. It reminded us of a similarly hot night in July, at Cambridge, on the occasion of Albert's Installation in 1847, when we took a walk with poor Waldemar of Prussia, Charles of Weimar, and the Duchess of Sutherland, after a fearfully hot dinner, and when it was so fine, and the

garden of the College, with the bridge over the river, looked so picturesque.'[9]

The next day the Royal visitors parted from their hosts, of whom Her Majesty in her Diary speaks in very glowing terms, and who had made her reception worthy of the great county of which Lord Leigh was the representative. At one o'clock they started in an open carriage for Warwick Castle, escorted by Lord Leigh and the yeomanry of the county, whom he had entertained as a guard of honour for Her Majesty during the visit at Stoneleigh. A day described as 'fearfully stifling and oppressive,' must have put the mettle of this fine body of men to a severe test during their long ride, through Leamington, to the Castle of the Warwicks, under which the Avon sweeps through a picturesque fringe of woodland worthy of the stately keep which it encircles. The heat penetrated even to the shady recesses of the Castle itself, where the Royal visitors lunched with Lord and Lady Warwick, and it hung heavily upon the glades overshadowed by the magnificent cedars and other forest giants of the Castle grounds. This was the only drawback upon an otherwise delightful excursion. But not even the stifling heat could abate the heartiness of the welcome given to the Queen and Prince at Leamington and Warwick. 'Everywhere,' says the Queen's Diary, 'we had the kindest reception.'

Leaving Warwick Castle a little before five, the Royal party reached the Great Western Warwick Station as a thunderstorm began. 'We had barely got into the railway carriage, before the rain came down with fearful violence. We soon got out of it, and the journey, though not cool, was not so bad as Monday's. We got to Buckingham Palace a little before eight. So hot, it had been 90° in the shade, and people half smothered.'

[9] A description of this walk from the Queen's Diary is given *supra*, vol. i. p. 398.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

WHILE England was still contending with the two great problems, how peace was to be re-established in India, and the government of that country to be regulated for the future, fresh causes of uneasiness in the state of Europe were becoming daily more prominent. The French Government had been gradually recovering from the panic into which it had been thrown by the attempt of Orsini. Its eyes had become opened to the absurdity and injustice of punishing the French nation for the crime of an Italian, instigated by political motives with which that nation had no sympathy. To show, as the severity of the repressive measures at home had done, a distrust of his hold upon the goodwill of his subjects, was a mistake to which the Emperor could not remain long insensible. Accordingly, the Ministry of Public Safety, which he had created in his first alarm, was suppressed, and General Espinasse, in whom its functions had been combined with those of the Ministry of the Interior, was superseded. By a decree of the 14th of June, M. Delangle, whose legal training and well-known moderate views inspired general confidence, was appointed his successor, and the coercive policy, of which General Espinasse had been selected as the appropriate instrument, was for the time abandoned.

Thus France again breathed more freely; but elsewhere the policy of its ruler caused general disquiet. It was

known that the words of the letter addressed to him by Orsini had taken deep root in his mind. 'Let your Majesty remember,' it said, 'that the Italians, of whom my father was one, shed with joy their blood for Napoleon the Great, and that they remained faithful to him to the last, Bear in mind that the tranquillity of Europe and of your Majesty will be a chimæra so long as Italy is not independent. Set my country free, and the blessings of fifty-five millions of men will follow you through succeeding generations.' The words chimed with the aspirations of a long-cherished dream, and pointed to the realisation of projects to which the Emperor had attached himself in his youth. They were enforced by the knowledge that what Orsini had failed in, many other Italians had banded themselves together to accomplish, being possessed with the idea that the blow which had been struck by the French Emperor at the revolutionary principles, on which they counted for success in setting Italy free, could only be expiated and neutralised by his death.

There was one far-seeing statesman, the Count Cavour, then at the head of the Sardinian Government, who saw in this state of things a chance not to be lost of laying the foundations of an Italian kingdom. From no other Sovereign, as he well knew, could direct aid be expected in any measures for achieving the independence of Italy; and this aid he set himself to secure at the moment when the apprehensions of the Emperor, no less than his ambition, disposed him to grant it. Accordingly, after the King of Sardinia had, by his spirited resistance to the pressure attempted to be put upon him by Count Walewski, brought the Emperor of the French to respect his independence, Count Cavour took every opportunity of drawing closer the relations between the Court of Turin and that of the Tuileries. His efforts were completely successful, and they resulted in negotiations, which were

conducted by the Emperor himself,[1] *more suo*, without the intervention of his Ministers, for an intimate alliance between France and Sardinia, to be cemented by the marriage of Prince Napoleon, the Emperor's cousin, with a daughter of King Victor Emmanuel.

It was not till July of this year that these negotiations assumed a definite form. A meeting then took place at Plombières between the Emperor and the Count Cavour, of which the secret was so well kept that it escaped the observation of the diplomatic world. At this meeting a mutual understanding was come to for the assistance of France, in certain eventualities, to Sardinia in a war against Austria, with a view to the establishment of a kingdom of Northern Italy; France receiving in return the cession from Sardinia of Savoy and Nice. The marriage of Prince Napoleon, although discussed at this interview, was left an open question.

Although these details were not made public till some time after, enough was known of what was passing to draw the attention of European statesmen to the probability of a war in Italy at no distant date, in which France would be found to be enlisted on the side of Sardinia. The Emperor made no secret of his animosity to Austria, and Austria in its turn was not indisposed to take up the gauntlet, if thrown down to her by France. She was quite aware that in any conflict she could count on no friendly aid from Russia, for the Emperor of the French had let it be known that his Imperial brother of Russia had said to him at Stuttgart that, so far as Italy was concerned, he might do what he pleased. In no case would he, the Emperor of Russia, interfere with him. But this menace did not carry the same

[1] How Napoleon treated his own first Minister may be seen from an incident recorded by M. Mazade, in his account of the meeting at Plombières. 'It was going on,' he writes, 'when Napoleon III., having received a despatch, turned to his guest with a smile, and said: "'Tis from Walewski, to tell me you are here."'—*Le Comte de Cavour*, par C. de Mazade, p. 214.

weight as, under other conditions, it might have done; for Austria, who had been for many years strengthening her position and increasing her forces in the Italian peninsula, believed that she was quite able to cope with Powers like Russia and France, which were still suffering from the exhaustion occasioned by the Crimean War. If, therefore, she was to fight for her Italian provinces,—as it was obvious that, sooner or later, she must do,—the sooner the better. Sardinia had long been a thorn in her side, and the more fiery spirits of the Austrian army were eager to repeat to that ambitious State the sharp lesson which they had read to it in 1849.

The discussions as to the Danubian Principalities which had been resumed in Paris on the 22nd of May had shown France to be united in intimate concert with Russia and Sardinia, and in determined opposition to Austria and the Porte—a state of things which operated to increase in no small degree Austria's jealousy of the French Emperor. On the part of the latter there had long ceased to be any reserve as to his altered views in regard to Turkey. He believed the extinction of Ottoman sway in Europe to be not only desirable, but certain; and he who had only two years before become a party to the treaty, by which France, Austria, and England guaranteed the integrity of Turkey, would not now have raised his hand to prevent its dismemberment.

By what power that of the Ottoman Porte was to be succeeded he had apparently formed no definite views. That Russia should not be permitted to take its place was the one point alone clear to him, and there is no reason to doubt that he would have resisted any overt attempt in that direction. He was under no delusions as to the ulterior views by which that empire's Eastern policy had for generations been governed. That she would oppose the establishment of any independent power at Constantinople by all the resources at her command he could not doubt, for the admissions of the

Emperor Nicholas in his famous conversation with Sir Hamilton Seymour (see vol. iii. *ante*, p. 50) were present to his mind as a record of the hereditary policy of the Czars. In one important detail these admissions had been confirmed to himself personally; for, as he told Lord Cowley, the Emperor Alexander had assured the Prince Napoleon at Warsaw, that he 'would spend his last rouble, and sacrifice his last man' to defeat any attempt to set up a Greek Empire at Constantinople.[2] He might therefore reasonably conclude from this, that the rest of the hereditary programme would be as tenaciously adhered to.

But in the meantime any direct encroachment by Russia upon Turkey was too remote to demand consideration, and the French Emperor turned a deaf ear to the representations of both Austria and the Porte, that his project of the union of the Principalities under a foreign prince involved a serious danger to the security of both their kingdoms against the usurping influence of the Czar. The temptation to punish the Porte, which had never been cordial in its relations to himself, and to baffle Austria, which had rejected his proposals to annex the Principalities, was irresistible. Accordingly, the Emperor put himself prominently forward in the question of the future settlement of the Principalities, and the Russian diplomatists observed with complacency that he showed himself more Russian than themselves in pressing his views upon the Conference.

The union of the Principalities under a foreign prince was obviously inconsistent with the arrangement come to at Osborne in August 1857, and our Government were startled to find that the terms of that arrangement, as understood by Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon, and reduced by them

[2] In November 1858 the Emperor of the French made the same statement at Compiègne to Lord Palmerston. (See Ashley's *Life of Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 150.)

to writing at the time (*supra*, p. 114), were ignored by Count Walewski and by the Emperor. That arrangement was, that the union of the Principalities should not be political, but should be administrative merely, the avowed object being to prevent the formation of a great independent State, under the government of a prince who would on the first opportunity throw off his allegiance to the Porte, and would yet not be powerful enough to resist the dictation of Russia.[3] It was in vain that the Emperor's attention was called to the terms of Lord Palmerston's Memorandum, and to the fact that M. Walewski had excused himself from signing it at the time on the ground that 'among men of honour writing was unnecessary.' The Emperor adhered to his position, that the only concession he had ever assented to was that the Principalities should not be ruled over by a foreign prince, but that otherwise their union was to be complete.

Had the question been free of all secondary considerations, had Russia been content to remain within the frontier assigned to her by the Treaty of Paris, and had the welfare of the Principalities been the only issue at stake, the arguments in support of the French Emperor's views of consolidation were irresistible. After the Principalities had declared in favour of union, but before the Plenipotentiaries had resumed their sittings in the Conference at Paris, Mr. Gladstone (4th May) had raised a discussion upon the question in the House of Commons, and advocated complete union with his accustomed eloquence. 'If it did not take place,' he said, 'the Principalities would be a constant source of anxiety to European policy; whereas, if they were united, a living barrier would be interposed between Russia and Turkey, neither would the union have the slightest effect injurious

[3] Realising in this way the Emperor Nicholas's idea of the Principalities as 'in fact an independent State under his protection.' These were his words to Sir Hamilton Seymour.

to the Ottoman Empire.' Subsequent events have certainly not confirmed this view. Rather may they be said to have shown how truly both Austria and the Porte divined what might be expected to ensue, when they contended that the union would be a great blow to the power of Turkey to maintain herself in Europe, and that the Principalities would prove no barrier to Russia when at some future time she believed herself strong enough to make an inroad upon the Danubian Provinces. Our statesmen were possessed of sure information that this inroad would be attempted upon the very first opportunity, and that moreover it was Russia's settled purpose to reclaim that portion of Bessarabia, formerly in her hands, which under the Treaty of Paris had been annexed to Moldavia. With this knowledge not merely Austria, but England, which by the Tripartite Treaty of Paris had engaged to 'guarantee the independence and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire,' was bound to regard with extreme jealousy the proposition of Powers which were known to be unfriendly to the Porte, all the more that one of these Powers, France, was a party to the guarantee, on the obligations of which she was already turning her back.

So divergent were the views of the various Powers, that it seemed at one time as if the Conference would break up, and the Eastern question be again thrown open. But at length a middle course was agreed upon of establishing an identity of institutions in both Provinces, but with a separate ministry for each, two elective assemblies, and a Central Commission, which was to prepare the laws common to both Principalities. After nineteen days of discussion in the Conference a Convention embodying the future Constitution of the United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia on this basis was signed on the 19th of August; and thus one great subject of disquietude was for the moment put to rest. The result was a mortifica-

tion to Austria and to the Porte, for although the Conference had not adopted the principle of a complete union of the Principalities under a foreign prince, yet it was obvious that this must sooner or later follow by the mere pressure of events.[4] Accordingly, the first act of each of the Provinces was to elect the same Hospodar, Prince Couza, as their head, a step which, probably from an oversight, the terms of the Convention had not prohibited. The inconvenience of the union, imperfect in form, but practically complete, was removed in November 1861 by the consent of the Sultan to a complete administrative union during the life of Prince Couza. This was, of course, only the forerunner of a permanent arrangement.

Although the adherence of the English Cabinet to a policy, to which they considered themselves bound by their recent Treaty engagements towards Turkey, was very unpleasing to the Emperor of the French, and somewhat ruffled our diplomatic relations for a while, it produced no change in his zeal for the English alliance. Even while the discussion between his Minister and ours as to the question of the Principalities was in its most unpromising phase, he addressed the Queen on her birthday with his wonted cordiality. In the same letter (23rd of May) he took the opportunity of suggesting how happy it would make the Empress and himself, if Her Majesty and the Prince would visit Cherbourg

[4] The result was viewed, not without cause, by the Emperor of the French as a practical triumph of his views. In a circular letter addressed by M. Walewski to the French Ministers at Foreign Courts, after the Convention had been signed, he speaks of that document as 'giving to the Principalities a denomination, which is a sort of homage paid to the principle of Union.' 'Its arrangements,' he adds, 'constitute a real union in substance;' and, indeed, the whole arrangements of the Convention were unexceptionable in themselves, apart from any questions of extraneous policy. To provide against the contingencies apprehended by Austria and the Porte was *simply* impossible, as neither the Porte could be put under conditions to avoid giving pretexts to Russia for invasion, nor Russia be debarred from finding them at some future opportune moment.

during the fêtes that were to take place this summer on the completion of the great works there. This letter arrived as the Prince was on the point of setting out for Germany, and was answered the next day (28th May) by the Queen, who expressed regret that she did not at that moment see any prospect of being able to be present on the occasion of the great naval display contemplated at Cherbourg.

It was natural that the Sovereign of England should hesitate in complying with a request to take part in any demonstration of this kind. The works of Cherbourg, originally meant as a menace to England, made France her most dangerous adversary, and she could scarcely, therefore, regard their completion with much satisfaction. Reflection, and the communications which passed between our Ambassador at Paris and the Tuileries showed, however, that the Emperor's request was made, not in a spirit of ostentation, but from a wish on his part to mark emphatically, that, if he had brought to completion the works which had been in progress since the reign of Louis XIV., he had done so, not to put England on her defence, but only to strengthen the position of France in Europe. Accordingly, when the proposition was renewed in June by the Duc de Malakoff in an interview with Lord Malmesbury, our Government came to the conclusion that Her Majesty's presence, as desired by the Emperor, would be of great political benefit. 'Nothing,' Lord Malmesbury wrote to the Queen (24th June), 'has so favourable an influence on the Emperor's mind as these personal interviews with your Majesty.' The Emperor, it was known, had been much disappointed when he learned from the Queen's letter to him that he could not count upon her presence. 'I believe,' Lord Cowley wrote (28th June) to Lord Malmesbury, 'that on this side the Channel, Her Majesty's visit would be of great use in calming irritation, &c. You best know what the effect would be on the other

side of the water;[5] but I feel confident of one thing, that nothing does the Emperor so much moral good as seeing the Queen and Prince. His confidence in the judgment of his Royal Highness is unbounded.' It was accordingly arranged that the Queen should visit the Emperor at Cherbourg, but should take her departure before the fêtes connected with the opening of the great basin began.

The arrival of the King of the Belgians with his family (17th June) on a visit to the Queen agreeably relieved the hard work which the height of the season brought upon the Prince, made harder this year than usual by the excessive heat. He had during this month more than his wonted share of the labour of opening or laying the foundation stones of new Institutions and of presiding at old ones, an irksome duty, but one from which he never shrank, where a good object was to be served. In addition to the greater public questions, he was also much interested in the passing at this time of a Bill for repaying the Government advances to the Exhibition Commissioners, and severing their connection with that body, who were for the future charged with the independent administration of the valuable estate, the acquisition of which had been in a great measure due to the Prince's energy and foresight.

About this time he became assured of an interesting

[5] A Royal visit on such an occasion provoked, as it could not fail to do, some very bitter articles against the Emperor in the English journals, more especially *The Times*, that were scarcely calculated to cement the *entente cordiale* between the two countries. Even if no distrust of the French Emperor's intentions had existed, the serious fact for England remained, that France was about to open 'a great port and arsenal built avowedly as a menace to her [England's] shores, and certain to cast upon her for all time coming a vast, but now, alas! a necessary expense'—(*Times*, 9th of August). We might or might not be safe with the French Emperor, but what but an equal command of force at home could guarantee us against the hazards of the future? The tone of many of these articles was calculated to wound the Emperor, and to beget bad blood in France, with no obvious countervailing advantage.

prospect, to which playful allusion is made in the following letter to the Princess Royal:—

'Buckingham Palace, 23rd June, 1858.

'Uncle Leopold and his children are well, bright and active, Marie sweet as ever, Philippe developing daily, Leopold also greatly improved. . . .

'I suppose I may now assume that I have every chance of becoming at 39 a venerable grandpapa. This will give to the coming grey hairs in my whiskers a certain significance, which they have hitherto lacked. . . .

'The Duc de Malakoff was greatly delighted at the removal of General Espinasse and the Ministère de Sûreté Publique, and called it "*une espèce de croquemitaine pour effrayer les enfants qui n'était plus de nos jours.*" In reference to the general himself he said to your mother: "*Je n'aime pas les gens qui ont le front fuyant devant et la tête toute pointue derrière; cela tient plus de l'ecureuil et du lièvre que de l'homme. Eh bien, c'est un peu Espinasse!*" he added, making as he spoke the drollest and most impossible grimace.'

A few days afterwards the Prince presided as usual at the annual dinner of the Trinity House, when he paid a cordial tribute to the splendid valour and endurance of the army in India. In doing so he took the opportunity of giving expression to an apprehension which was ever uppermost in his thoughts, that through a mistaken economy England should impose an unfair strain upon the military forces at her disposal, and be some day caught at a disadvantage before she could get her resources together. What he knew of the elements of disturbance which were at this moment fermenting throughout Europe, at which we have glanced, but of which he could not speak, gives a special significance to the con-

cluding sentence of his speech in proposing the toast of 'The Army and Navy:'—

'If this toast,' he said, 'must at all times be received by Englishmen with feelings of pride and satisfaction, who could approach it at the present moment without being also penetrated by those of admiration and deep thankfulness for the heroic deeds and sacrifices with which our gallant troops are now struggling, not only for the honour and interests of our country, but I trust for the cause of civilisation and the future happiness of millions of people now unfortunately in part our enemies! May the Almighty continue to watch over our brave countrymen in the East, and grant them uninterrupted victory! His hand becomes most apparent when we consider how small are the means with which so much has been achieved. The deepest responsibility, however, attaches to us, not to rest satisfied with the enjoyment of the advantages and successes obtained by such self-sacrificing devotion, but to take care that, by maintaining these noble services in sufficient numbers, the tasks which for our benefit may be from time to time imposed upon them, should not carry with them the almost certain immolation of those who are expected to perform them.'

That the condition of public affairs at this time seemed to the Prince far from satisfactory is apparent from the following letter to Baron Stockmar, at the close of which he speaks of a visit to Prince Frederick William of Prussia and his bride, to which the Queen and Prince were now looking forward with great interest:—

'I feel an impulse to write you one line, before leaving London, which we do to-day. I must be brief, having to pack up and being pressed for time. The heat has of late been greater than ever, besides which, the most important questions are under discussion, some which affect the position of the Crown in the tenderest points, such as the Indian Government and the position of the army; others, on which the safety of the country depends, navy, army, militia, and

the most perplexing complications in foreign affairs (*die schwierigsten auswärtigen Verschiebungen*), which will be discussed and despatched (*über die Knie gebrochen*) without the grave consideration they demand. Having our eyes open and our souls free, these things cost us much anxiety and much trouble.

'Uncle Leopold and his children leave us to-day. I have never seen him better or in better spirits. Philip develops steadily and well.

'I have engaged Colonel Bruce for Bertie. General Bouverie has resigned. My equerry, Seymour [now Marquis of Hertford], has taken his place; and I have replaced him by Colonel Hardinge, Lord Hardinge's second son, whom you will no doubt remember.

'Alfred is upon a yachting excursion in Ireland, and is waiting in Valencia for the arrival of the Transatlantic cable.[6] Grey has gone for his health to Wiesbaden. To-morrow we go to the camp, where we shall remain two nights, and take the Duke of Malakoff with us.

'The Emperor has invited us to Cherbourg for the opening of his great arsenal, and the inspection of his formidable fleet. The Ministers press us to accept, which we have agreed to do, with the qualification that the visit is to be a private one, and therefore *before* those festivities begin, at which we should be out of place.

'We shall afterwards go to the Rhine on the 10th of August, so that the meeting at Coblenz may take place on the 12th. Our stay is only to last fourteen days. Can you not arrange to come there at the same time? It is really

[6] The first that was laid. It worked only long enough to show that the problem of Atlantic submarine communication had been solved, and then became incurably silent. The fact of its having been laid successfully was made known at Cherbourg on the 6th of August, while the Queen was there, and created a great sensation amid the festivities which were then going on.

nothing of a journey for you, and it would give great pleasure to us all. Think it over, and pray write to me about it.

'Buckingham Palace, 5th July, 1858.'

'P.S.—We have just received letters from Potsdam, in which Fritz declares against the journey to the Rhine, and invites us to Babelsberg. Whether we can go, I cannot say.'

The Court remained at Osborne throughout the month of July. We extract a few passages from the Prince's letters during this period. To Baron Stockmar he writes on the 19th:—

'The plans for our journey are now settled. We start on the 9th, and calculate on reaching Babelsberg by the 12th. We shall return on the 28th. Our journey is not to be a Royal progress, but to have an entirely private character; we have therefore begged to be excused from all receptions, and shall not even receive any Royal visits, but, without actually travelling under assumed names, shall preserve a kind of incognito. God grant all this may turn out well! Could you not come to Potsdam at that time? It would be really so easy for you and would give me the greatest pleasure. Pray turn this over and let me have a line from you. We take Alice and Lenchen with Miss Hildyard with us. In our suite will be Lord Malmesbury, Phipps, Colonel Hood, Captain Du Plat, and Sir James Clark; Lady Macdonald and Miss Cavendish. On the 5th, we have a rendezvous with the Emperor at Cherbourg. We shall not, however, take any part in the fêtes there, but hurry home on the 6th, the day they begin.

'When Cherbourg is completed, England's position will be greatly altered, and we must strengthen our forces if we are not to be entirely at our neighbour's mercy. By the

railway an army can be brought there, and transported from that gigantic haven to our coast in four hours.

'In politics the aspect of things is peculiar; our Tory Ministry holds on, but democracy makes great strides under it. The hatred of the Radicals towards Lord John and Lord Palmerston, whom they call the Dowager Premiers, is quite incredible, and on every question gave Lord Derby a great majority.

'The India Bill is nearly through, but all the difficult Indian questions are still to come. The war is not yet over by any means, and although we have recruited 60,000 men within the year, our forces are beginning to be exhausted, and the recruits are not soldiers equal to encountering the fearful hardships of an Indian war.'

Again, on the 22nd, the Prince writes:—

'As I wrote to you, that we were to take Alice, Lenchen, and Miss Hildyard with us to Babelsberg, I must now tell you, that on further consideration and discussion we have decided to leave them here. Educational reasons alone have led to this unwelcome resolution. On the other hand, I hope that no reasons of any kind whatever will influence you not to come to Potsdam, as your education is completed, and you can contribute materially to ours.

'Our decision as to Cherbourg remains as before.

'I, yesterday, saw Alfred as volunteer upon the mast of the *Rollo*, reef the topsail in a strong breeze, and do all sorts of things at that dizzy height with great dexterity, which would have taken away your breath, as they did mine.'

The tropical heat of this July was not without its effect in shortening the deliberations of Parliament. It was made still more intolerable to members by the noxious vapours from the Thames, which were rendered almost pestilential

by the unusually high temperature. Out of evil comes good; and a measure for a system of main drainage for London, which was to free that noble river from the pollutions which were converting it into a fertile source of disease, was carried with more promptitude than is commonly the fate of schemes, however urgent, which involve a considerable increase of taxation. The Bill for the purpose, introduced by Mr. Disraeli only on the 15th of July, became law before the close of the Session.

On the 30th of July Parliament was prorogued by Commission. The Session, stormy though it had been, had not been unfruitful. The Government, ably led in both Houses, had held its position under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty, and they were able to point to several important pieces of legislation which had been carried under their auspices—the Government of India Bill, the settlement of the long vexed question of Jewish disabilities, an important enlargement of the powers of the Encumbered Estates Commissioners in Ireland, and other measures of imperial importance.

The promised state visit to Cherbourg, looked forward to with eager interest both in France and England from the moment it came to be known, was now to be paid. About noon of the 4th of August, the Royal yacht *Victoria and Albert* steamed away from Osborne with the Queen and Prince and the Prince of Wales on board. When about six miles from Cherbourg they came up with the imposing squadron which was to form the Royal escort during the visit, and which had started about six hours before Her Majesty. It consisted of the *Royal Albert*, 131 guns, with Admiral Lord Lyons on board; the *Renown*, 91 guns; the *Diadem*, 32 guns; the *Euryalus*, 51 guns; the *Curaçoa*, 31 guns; and the *Racoon*, 22 guns. Besides these there were in immediate attendance on the Royal yacht, under the

command of Captain Denman, the *Fairy*, the *Banshee*, the *Black Eagle*, the *Vivid*, and the Trinity House yacht *Irene*. The escort kept up with the Royal yacht, and steamed with her into the harbour about half-past six, amid the thunders of salutes reiterated from the French ships of war which crowded the bay, and from the numberless forts which commanded it.

The contrast between the scene which now presented itself to the Royal visitors, and that which met them on their visit to Cherbourg the previous year, was indeed striking. Then, it will be remembered (*supra*, p. 115), the golden haze of a setting sun illuminated the quiet town, and the only shipping to be seen consisted of a few small trading vessels. Now, to quote Her Majesty's Diary, 'the evening was dull and grey, but the harbour was filled. Nine French line-of-battle ships were anchored along the breakwater, and on every side were numberless small vessels, all brilliantly decked out. As we steamed in, salutes, which were repeated three or four times, were thundered from every ship and fort. The effect was truly splendid. We anchored in the middle of these ships, surrounded by our own. The whole scene was beautiful.'

The salute by which Her Majesty was received was unlike anything of the same kind that is known on this side of the Channel. Celebrated as the French are for the lavish expenditure of gunpowder on such occasions, 'the actual performance' was pronounced by the brilliant word-painter, who recorded the incidents of the visit for *The Times*, to have 'as much surpassed expectation as it defied description.'

'As the Royal yacht,' he wrote, 'turned round between the marine forts which mark the western entrance, Admiral Hamelin, in the *Bretagne*, 120, fired a single gun. There was a moment's pause, and then the salute began, not in a close, irregular, and dropping cannonade, which so distinguishes a

similar honour from the English navy, but gun after gun, running along each tier like a train of fire, till the very frame of the listener seemed shaken, as if even the air smote him in its reverberation. Hardly had this great cannonade commenced, when all the ugly forts which dominate every part of the harbour, threatening with a thousand ominous, fearful-looking embrasures each ship that passes, took up the same song, only firing their massive guns in volleys of eight at once, and as fast as they could be reloaded and discharged. It is but rarely such a cannonade is ever heard, and seldom, if ever, that it has been given for a purely peaceful welcome. But, at all events, it showed in an instant the great extent and number of the fortifications that cover every spot of vantage ground around the town. All towards sea was a mere mass of fire and smoke; but that one looked for, though this was far from being all. The ring of fire seemed not only to embrace the town, but to extend far into the country, up among little ravines, where no one ever dreamt that guns lay lurking, at the top of picturesque eminences, where one fancied only villas and rural cottages could exist; around thick clumps of trees and flanking yellow corn-fields came the same dreadful uproar, till it seemed as if all France, even from her hills and mountain tops, were doing honour to the advent of the Queen of England.'

The Emperor and Empress had reached Cherbourg only about two hours before. They had been present at the ceremonial of formally opening the railway from Mantes to Cherbourg,[1] and had scarcely reached the Préfecture, where they were to reside during the fêtes, when the roar of the salutes announced the arrival of the Queen. The Royal yacht had no sooner anchored than the Ministre de la Marine, Admiral Hamelin, came on board with greetings from the Emperor. He was soon followed by Admiral Defossé, who was in command of the fleet at Cherbourg, and by Lord Cowley, who had come down from Paris the night before,

[1] This railway, like that from Rouen to Havre, which completed the route to Paris, had been designed by an English engineer, Mr. Joseph Locke, and constructed by an English contractor, Mr. Thomas Brassey.

and Mr. Hammond, our consul at the port. Lord Lyons also came on board. The illness, which was soon to prove fatal to this distinguished man, was painfully visible in his appearance. 'He looks like a shadow,' says the Royal Diary.

'We dined at seven,' the same record continues. 'We were very merry. The breakwater was partially illuminated. At a little before eight arose the cry, "The Emperor is coming!" Bands played, the yards were manned, and cheers resounded; and the splendid barge, white with a green velvet canopy and golden eagle, advanced. Albert received our hosts at the foot of the ladder, I at the top. First came the Emperor, and then the Empress (in a lilac and white silk dress, and white and black lace bonnet), both of whom I embraced. General Niel, the Princesse d'Essling, the Duc de Malakoff [who had come over from England in the *Royal Albert*], the Préfet Maritime, and others, came with them. We took them, after a few words had been spoken, into the canopy, where we sat down. The Emperor was much embarrassed; she less so, and most kind. . . . The Emperor asked anxiously if the feeling was still bad against France in England, —if they still expected an invasion? We smiled, and said that the feeling was much better, but that this very place caused alarm, and that those unhappy Addresses of the colonels had done incalculable mischief. The Emperor replied, he knew and felt this,—that all had been done without his knowledge, and that they had been published to his great distress!

'A little after nine the Emperor and Empress left, amid blue and red lights on board our yacht and our other vessels. A new light of a Captain Fitz Maurice on board one of our ships cast an illumination upon the Emperor's barge as it passed toward the shore, which had a magical and most picturesque effect. During the evening, a vessel, with a good band on

board, went playing round our yacht. At twenty minutes to ten we went below, and read and nearly finished that most interesting book, *Jane Eyre*.'

The brief entry in the Prince's Journal the same evening is significant: 'Empress looks ill; he is out of humour at all that is said about him in England.' What the Prince saw that evening of Cherbourg and the French fleet deepened his convictions as to the necessity for England looking more sharply to her coast and naval defences than she had of late been doing. Next morning, his Journal mentions that the Queen and himself had called the attention of Lord Malmesbury and Sir John Pakington, who were with them, to the 'necessity of strengthening our munitions of war, as Cherbourg must become a very great peril to us (*höchst verderblich*).'

The night had been stormy and wet, but the morning cleared and brightened into a splendid day. 'Up early,' again to quote Her Majesty's Diary. 'While dressing, came a tremendous salute, repeated, according to the French custom three times, and so close that all the windows and doors shook.[8] . . . After breakfast I sat in the canopy sketching for more than an hour. Such an animated scene! All these fine ships decked out, and countless boats moving backwards and forwards. Great numbers of people have come over from England—among them, a hundred members of the House of Commons in a ship chartered by themselves, and hosts of every kind in yachts and steamers.[9]

[8] The signal for this salute had been the hauling down of the Admiralty flag on the Royal yacht at 8 A.M., and the hoisting of the French flag at the fore. Immediately the yards of the French fleet were manned, the ships dressed, and the deafening broadsides began.

[9] The chronicler of *The Times* writes (5th of August): 'At least 150 vessels of the Thames, Victoria, and Royal Yacht Clubs are already in the harbour, and every hour adds numbers to the little fleet. They are skimming outside the breakwater in little squadrons, and the horizon is covered with fresh arrivals, staggering in under a press of canvas, and leaning over in a way which astonishes even the naval inhabitants of the town, and makes them ask with eager curiosity, "Do the English sail in such boats for pleasure?"'

'. . . At twenty minutes to twelve we all went on board the *Fairy*, Albert and George [Duke of Cambridge] in undress uniform, Bertie in the Highland dress, all others in full uniform. Then began the fine and deafening salutes, to which, however, one grew accustomed, and which have indeed a most brilliant effect, much finer than ours.' [No fewer than 3,000 discharges, fired with incessant rapidity during twenty minutes, were expended in this salute. The firing was continued after Her Majesty landed, and was kept up from fort to fort as she proceeded through the works on shore.]

'We landed where we did last year, and were received by the Emperor and Empress, the former handing me out, &c. Got into the Emperor's carriage. . . . The streets were gaily decked out, and lined with troops, and the Infanterie de Marine and sailors, all crying "*Vive l'Empereur! Vive l'Impératrice! Vive le Prince Impérial!*" and "*Vive la Reine d'Angleterre!*" which I dislike so much. The nice caps of the *paysannes* were very numerous, transcendently white, and they looked most pretty and picturesque. We drove through the town to the Préfecture. . . . Maréchal Vaillant, Count Walewski, Madame Labedoyère and Madame De Lourmel (widow of a general killed in the Crimea), and some others, received us at the door. We went up a narrow staircase which brought us to a small salon opening into two smaller rooms, out of which we passed into the not uncomfortable living room of the Emperor and Empress. It had been fitted up with crimson satin and velvet portières for the occasion, and the prints of ourselves sent last year to the Préfet Maritime were hung up with inscriptions underneath.

'Here we talked for a little, and then breakfasted, or rather lunched, in one of the small salons with the Emperor and Empress, George, Ernest [Prince Leiningen] and Bertie —a regular luncheon finishing with coffee. Both were

amiable, but the Emperor rather *boutonné* and silent, and not ready to talk. Afterwards, when we sat down and talked with the Empress, she spoke most anxiously of the state of affairs—of her hope that matters would go well, and said much the same as the Emperor had done, of the harm our press articles did when translated into foreign journals, our powerlessness to prevent it, &c. We also talked of the dreadful "*attentat*" [Orsini's] itself, of which she gave me an account. . . . .

'The company having assembled in the next room, we went in to talk to them. Madame Walewski was there, and a pretty young Spanish lady, a friend of the Empress, called Mademoiselle Valeria [who soon afterwards married the Duc de Malakoff], and Generals Niel and MacMahon, both *très-aimables*, and M. Rouher, Minister of Public Works. After *cercleing*, and sitting with the Emperor and Empress, at two we entered our carriage again, and drove on past the new railway station, where there was a large encampment of *tentes d'abri* for the soldiers who could not be housed (there were 80,000 of them in Cherbourg), on to the foot of the Fort La Roule, up which a very steep winding road has been engineered, that was still very soft and somewhat dangerous. Soldiers were posted at intervals all the way up. The fort, where we got out, was not yet finished.'

The Queen speaks with admiration of the view from the fort, and the Prince in his Journal calls it wonderful. The picturesque writer in *The Times*, from whom we have already quoted, and who evidently accompanied the Royal *cortége*, describes the view as 'of its kind, probably the finest in the world.'

'All Cherbourg,' he writes, 'with its immense extent of docks, basins, and harbours, and, above all, its triple row of fortifications and rock-built batteries spreading in all directions, lay far beneath, like a gigantic plan. Almost every street in the town

could be distinctly traced; the place each fort was built to dominate could be seen at a glance, while in the roadstead lay the combined fleets dressed from truck to water's edge in colours, and surrounded by a host of tiny yachts, furling their white sails, like birds settling down upon the water, or skimming about inside the harbour in all directions. Nor was the view inland of a less striking or a less varied character. Far and near hills and valleys which were seen over, with their crowds of ancient-looking villages, fine old churches and square ivy-grown towers peeping out from among the trees, or lying snugly in the hollow of some charming valley half hidden in the cool shade. The only drawback in the picturesque effect of the scenery was the perpetual forts.' Scarcely a nook, however quiet, which was not surmounted by the scarped earthworks indicating batteries, while no hamlet seemed so poor or so insignificant as not to be worth dominating with a hundred cannons. It was cannons, cannons, cannons, wherever you turned. They poured upon you from every corner, they commanded every turning, till one grew weary of the perpetual black muzzles, and could not help wondering what in the name of wonder they were meant to attack or defend. But the object with which Fort Roule itself is built is plain enough. Cherbourg protects the Emperor against all the world, and La Roule protects the Emperor against Cherbourg.'

The Queen and Royal party walked down from the fort to the town, a distance of about a mile, and then drove again to the Préfecture, and subsequently to 'take a look at the now completed and very magnificent basin which is to be opened on Saturday.' They then re-embarked, and reached the Royal yacht about five, 'under the same tremendous salute' as before.

Her Majesty's Diary here naïvely records how the pleasure of this superb reception was embittered in a way which has marred the enjoyment of many of her subjects at meaner festivities. A dinner this evening on board the *Bretagne* was part of the programme. 'We were both made very nervous,' the Queen writes, 'by my poor Albert having to

make a speech at this dinner in answer to one which the Emperor was going to make, and having to compose it.' As the eyes of Europe were upon what was taking place at Cherbourg, and every word which fell from the Prince's lips was sure to be searched for latent meanings by the diplomatists and journalists of Europe, nervousness was excusable even in a man of the Prince's tact and fertility of resource. He proved himself at any rate equal to the occasion. We return to the Diary.

'At a little before seven we were ready, and saw the Emperor and Empress go on board the *Bretagne* amidst a tremendous salute. It was a beautiful sight, for the setting sun lighted everything up, and shone through the smoke of the guns. We followed almost immediately under a similar deafening salute, and were received by the Emperor at the foot of the ladder; Admiral Defossé saluting with his sword as a military officer, and the men on the lower deck all drawn up like troops. The Empress was at the top of the ladder . . . looking lovely. After waiting for a very short time in the Admiral's cabin we went to dinner, a very large one of nearly seventy people, handsomely arranged under canvas on deck. The space, though low and narrow, was prettily decorated with flowers, and flags, and initials. All the Emperor's very large suite, and ours, the Admirals, and all the Captains of both fleets were there. I sat between the Emperor and George, Lady Desart on the Emperor's other side. Albert sat opposite between the Empress, who had Bertie on her other side, and Madame Labedoyère.

'The Emperor unbent, and talked in his usual frank way to me during dinner. But he was not in good spirits, and seemed sensitive about all that has been said of him in England and elsewhere. At length, dinner over, came the terrible moment of the speeches. The Emperor made an admirable one, in a powerful voice, proposing my

health and those of Albert and the *famille Royale.* Then, after the band had played, came the dreadful moment for my dear husband, which was terrible to me, and which I should never wish to go through again. He did it very well, though he hesitated once. I sat shaking, with my eyes *cloués sur la table.* However, the speech did very well. This over, we got up, and the Emperor in the cabin shook Albert by the hand, and we all talked of the terrible "emotion" we had undergone, the Emperor himself having "changed colour," and the Empress having also been very nervous. I shook so I could not drink my cup of coffee.'

'My speech,' the Prince records in his Diary, 'went off well, thank God!' The Emperor had been at pains in his speech to express in the strongest terms his unaltered devotion to the English Alliance. He happily turned the presence of the Queen on board the Admiral's ship at Cherbourg to account as the best evidence that recent events had left his feelings unaltered.

'In truth,' he said, 'facts speak for themselves, and they prove that hostile passions, aided by certain untoward incidents, have failed to alter either the friendship which subsists between the two Crowns, or the desire of the two nations to remain on terms of peace. Nay, more, I cherish a confident hope that if attempts were made to stir up old resentments and the passions of a former epoch, they would fall harmless against the common sense of the people, as the sea-waves recoil from the breakwater, which at this moment protects the fleets of both Empires against the violence of the sea.'

After the customary words of acknowledgment of the toast, the Prince, speaking for the Queen, skilfully caught up the tone of the Emperor's speech:—

'You are aware,' he said, 'that a good understanding between our two countries is the constant object of the Queen's desires, as it is of yours. She is, therefore, doubly happy to have the

opportunity, by her presence here at this time, of joining with you in the endeavour to knit as closely as possible the bonds of friendship between the two nations. This friendship is at the root of the prosperity of both, and the blessing of Heaven will not be denied it. The Queen proposes "The health of the Emperor and Empress."'

Later in the evening the Royal party witnessed from the deck of the *Bretagne* a display of fireworks, in which all the resources of pyrotechnic skill seemed to have been laid under contribution. 'The evening,' to return to the Queen's Diary, 'was beautiful. There was no wind. It was quite warm. The band of the Guides played, and a choral society of workpeople from Cherbourg sang, in a ship close by.'

The fireworks were on a scale so magnificent, that the concluding flight of bombs and rockets was said at the time to have alone cost 25,000 francs. A moment of comparative darkness followed this discharge, and then all at once the yards and masts and bulwarks of the ships were seen illuminated by blue lights. The crews shouted, and innumerable rockets of all hues shot into the air from the ships and yachts in the harbour and roadstead. While these brilliant coruscations were flashing on every side, the Queen and Prince re-embarked in the Imperial State barge, accompanied by the Emperor and Empress. As it rowed slowly away, the ships again rolled forth their thunders, and the length and brightness of the flashes of fire that shot into the darkness from the ships' sides produced an effect at once terrible and sublime. 'The barge,' the Queen notes by the way, 'moves slow, and the men pull so much more slowly than ours that they do not inspire me with the same confidence.' The Emperor and Empress came on board the Royal yacht, and, having wished their Royal guests good-night, were rowed away to land, illuminated by a magnificent flight

of coloured rockets from the Royal yacht, and cheered with such cheers as only English sailors can give.

We resume the extracts from Her Majesty's Diary :—

'*Friday, August* 6.—Affie's fourteenth birthday; may God bless and protect this dear child! Warmly we wished each other joy. This day year the Emperor and Empress arrived at Osborne, and this day one hundred years, as the Emperor himself reminded me, the English bombarded Cherbourg! Beautiful day; fresh wind, and a good deal of motion from the tide for a little while. The Cowleys, with Lord Chelsea and two attachés, came early on board, as well as Mr. Hammond, who told me yesterday that the famous carriage we drove in last year (*supra*, p. 118) had been retained, and two plates put up, one on the outside and the other in the inside of the inn at Bricquebec, to the effect, "Ici a descendu S. M. la Reine d'Angleterre." At a little past ten we saw the Emperor's barge approaching. By a quarter to eleven he and the Empress, with an immense suite, including Maréchal Vaillant (who is charming, and whom I am most partial to) and Maréchal Baraguay d'Hilliers (who was extremely complimentary), came on board. . . . We told both the Emperor and Empress that we hoped to see them soon again, and how useful it was *de se voir*, which they reciprocated. At length, at half-past eleven, they left us, after a tender leave-taking on the part of the Empress, and went on board the *Bretagne*. We got under way immediately' [the Emperor standing the while on the poop of the *Bretagne* waving his hand], 'and steamed out, preceded by the escort, under heavy salutes, leaving the gay and never-to-be-forgotten scene behind us.'

'Between the intervals of the salute,' *The Times*' chronicler writes, 'the cheers were loud and hearty as the Royal yacht, clearing her way through the smoke, rushed past the lines of the English vessels, which were tearing and slashing through the foam at a great rate. The instant the Queen had taken the lead

the English began the return salute from the heaviest guns of the frigates and line-of-battle ships, with such a number of 68-pounders as made all within ten miles earnestly wish the gunpowder compliments at an end.'

Soon after four the Royal yacht, attended by only the Trinity yacht *Irene*, rounded the Needles, and 'at twenty minutes to five,' says the Royal Diary, 'we landed at our peaceful Osborne, leaving George and all but our own attendants to return to London. The evening was very warm and calm. Dear Affie was on the pier, and we found all the other children, including Baby, standing at the door. Deckel [a favourite dog] and our new charming kennel-bred Dachs "Boy" also received us with pleasure.

'We went to see Affie's table [of birthday presents]—entirely nautical. Albert was suffering with headache, the result of his speech. I joined him out on the lawn in an hour, and then went with the children—Alice and I driving—to the Swiss Cottage,[10] which was all decked out with flags in honour of Alfred's birthday. The children had lunched there. Alice, Affie, and Mr. [now Sir John] Cowell were the additions to our dinner-party. I sat between Albert and Affie. The two little boys [Princes Arthur and Leopold] appeared. A band played, and after dinner we danced, with the three boys and three girls and the company, a merry country dance on the terrace. A delightful finale to our expedition! It seemed a dream, that this morning at twelve we should have been still at Cherbourg, with the Emperor and Empress on board our yacht.'

The Prince, in his Journal, sums up the incidents of the last three days in the few pregnant words: 'The interviews must have done good, although I am conscious of a change in the Emperor.' Looking back on the Queen's graphic

[10] A mention of this cottage and its objects will be found in a note, vol. i. p. 292, *ante*.

record of the Emperor's manner, one is reminded of those signs of 'a hot friend cooling,' which Brutus (*Julius Cæsar*, act iv. sc. 2) detected in his coadjutor Cassius, when his messenger Lucilius, in answer to Brutus' inquiry how he had been received by Cassius, replied:

> 'With courtesy and with respect enough;
> But not with such familiar instances,
> Nor with such free and friendly conference,
> As he hath used of old.'

In the presence of one who had always dealt with him so frankly and fearlessly as the Prince, the Emperor could not have been at ease, conscious as he must have been of having not many days before concluded an arrangement with Count Cavour at Plombières, with ulterior objects, which he knew both the Queen and Prince must condemn. It is scarcely necessary to look further for the cause of that reserve, which not even his profound personal regard for his Royal guests could enable him to throw off.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

The display of naval force at Cherbourg could not fail to startle and alarm many of those who had come from England to witness the fêtes; and the reports in the journals of what France had done in the way of increasing her means both of defence and attack produced a deep impression throughout the country. Instead of the facts so frankly put before us being quietly accepted, as a warning to look to the state of our own naval defences, they were made, both by some of our public men, and by many of the leading journals, the text for very unmeasured attacks upon France and the French Emperor. If the object had been to provoke our neighbours to use their gigantic forces for the purposes of the invasion to which the French colonels had pointed, language better fitted for the purpose could scarcely have been chosen. As it was, it produced a feeling of extreme bitterness on the other side of the Channel, and our Government learned from their agents in Paris, before even the close of August, that the intemperate invectives of the press and of certain members of Parliament had created deep dissatisfaction among leading officers in both the French services who had hitherto been the best inclined towards us. The angry and defiant tone of these articles and speeches had, indeed, gone far to undo all the good which the peacefully disposed had not unreasonably expected might have ensued from the Queen's visit to Cherbourg. It was impossible not to regret this result,

when a man so remarkable for his friendly disposition to England as General Canrobert professed himself to be seriously offended, and talked of the impossibility of preserving peace, if the same system of provocation were continued.

There was, fortunately, no reason to distrust the sincerity of the Emperor's wish, so strongly expressed in his speech at Cherbourg, to maintain peaceful relations with England. But a nation's sole security against aggression lies in its power to hold its own against all comers; its determination to rest upon its own strength, and not on the friendly assurances even of its most friendly neighbours. Knowing what they did of our naval forces at this moment, the Queen and Prince could not contemplate without uneasiness what might happen, should any rupture with France take place. However improbable such a rupture might seem, in politics, as in life, it is always the improbable which is sure to happen. They therefore pressed the question of strengthening our naval forces upon Lord Derby, on their return to London on the 9th of August, but found him unable to hold out any assurance that his Cabinet would move in the matter. It was not long, however, before the Ministry saw reason to adopt a different view; but it is apparent, from what the Prince wrote two days afterwards to the Duchess of Kent, that he had taken seriously to heart what he regarded as a very dangerous supineness:—

'Cherbourg, as you will have seen by the papers, if you have got sight of the right ones, is safely over. The Emperor was preoccupied and sad; the Empress looks out of health. The war preparations in the French Marine are immense! Ours despicable! Our Ministers use fine phrases, but they do nothing. My blood boils within me.

'It will cut me to the heart to be in Germany, and not to visit our home. It is just about thirteen years when we were all united there!'

This letter was written from Antwerp on the 11th, the Queen and Prince having arrived there that morning in the Royal yacht from Gravesend on their way to Germany. Tried as they had been by the great heat in England this summer, they found that they were to encounter on the Continent a more severe ordeal from the same cause. 'Blazingly hot,' are the words of Her Majesty's Diary, 'with a stifling haze.' Such was Antwerp, as the Royal party drove through the town to the railway station. At Malines they were met by King Leopold and his second son, who accompanied them to the frontier at Verviers. At Aix-la-Chapelle they were received by the Prince of Prussia, who had come to be their companion for the rest of their journey to Babelsberg, their point of destination. Düsseldorf, where they were to halt for the night, was reached soon after four. Here the Prince and Princess Hohenzollern awaited the arrival of the train. The authorities of the town were with them; but, says the Queen's Diary, 'as I had begged for no official reception anywhere, there were no salutes of artillery or troops drawn up—merely the Schützengesellschaft (the burghers of the town). The Prince Hohenzollern was on horseback. The Princess is very pleasing; must have been very pretty; is the same height as Stephanie, and has the same manner. . . . We drove with her and the Prince of Prussia over the bridge of boats across the Rhine, near which were many steamers and boats prettily decorated, and through the densely crowded and very prettily decorated town. The people were most kind and civil. We drove through the principal streets along the Allée Gasse, planted like Boulevards, to the *Breidenbacher Hof*, our inn, which is in this street. The accommodation was very fair, several rooms, all close together, but oh, *so* hot! . . .

'A little before seven the Prince and Princess Hohenzollern came to fetch us and drove us to their house—the Jägerhof.

In the hall were the Prince of Prussia, the Prince of Hohenzollern's two youngest sons,[1] fine boys of seventeen and fourteen, and the youngest daughter, Marie, who is only twelve. She will be very handsome, but has not Stephanie's beautiful eyes or angelic expression. . . . The Prince of Prussia led me in to dinner, and I sat between him and Prince Hohenzollern, Albert between the Princess Hohenzollern and the Princess of Altenburg, Prince Hohenzollern's niece, and very pretty.' Among the guests at dinner were the English Ambassador at Berlin, 'Lord Bloomfield, who met us at Aix-la-Chapelle. During dinner an excellent military band played. The heat fearful, just as it was at Birmingham. One of the guests, Regierungs-Präsident von Massenbach, was very amiable, and spoke most kindly of Vicky, as indeed every one does. . . . We drove back, as we came, through a dense crowd, cheering and hurrahing. The grounds along our route were splendidly lit up; all along the lakes, of which there are several in the grounds, there were borders of coloured lamps, and the same upon a small bridge, while fireworks and red and blue lights were let off from the water and waterside—the prettiest thing of the kind, and most tasteful I ever saw—all the spontaneous act of the people and arranged by artists. Night fearfully hot.

'*Thursday, August* 12.—Up at six. Air still fresh, but streets very oppressive. While I was dressing, Albert came in, quite pale, with a telegram, saying, "My poor Cart is dead! (*Mein armer Cart ist gestorben!*)" [Cart had been Prince Albert's valet for twenty-nine years.] 'I turn sick now (14th August) in writing it. . . . He died suddenly on Saturday at Morges, of *angina pectoris*. I burst into tears. All day long the tears would rush every moment to my eyes,

[1] The elder of these is now the Prince of Roumania. The Princess Marie married in 1861 Philippe, Count of Flanders, brother of the King of the Belgians.

and this dreadful reality came to throw a gloom over the long-wished-for day of meeting with our dear child. Cart was with Albert from his seventh year. He was invaluable; well educated, thoroughly trustworthy, devoted to the Prince, the best of nurses, superior in every sense of the word, a proud independent Swiss, who was quite *un homme de confiance*, peculiar, but extremely careful, and who might be trusted in anything. He wrote well and copied much for us. He was the only link my loved one had about him which connected him with his childhood, the only one with whom he could talk over old times. I cannot think of my dear husband without Cart! He seemed part of himself! We were so thankful for and proud of this faithful old servant, he was such a comfort to us, and now he is gone! A sad breakfast we had indeed. Albert felt the loss so much, and we had to choke our grief down all the day.'

Before seven the Queen and Prince were on their way to the railway station, where they found the Prince of Prussia awaiting them. Speeding on through the well-cultured plains, and past the busy manufacturing towns of this part of Rhenish Prussia, Hamm in Westphalia was reached before 9 A.M., where a brief halt was made, and 'a very broad-headed *Geistlicher*,' says the Queen's Diary, 'made me a fine speech, and said he thanked me for the *schönes Geschenk* (charming gift) which I had made the country in Vicky.' The country here becomes more picturesque, with the famous Teutoburger Forest visible from the railway, till the Weser is reached, flowing through fine rocks and hills. At Minden another halt was made, and here again 'generals and authorities were presented. Everywhere decorations, flags, and flowers, and the engines decorated.' As the train passed the Bückeburg station, the Baroness Lehzen, the Queen's governess from childhood to womanhood, 'stood there waving her

handkerchief. The heat and dust had by this time become unbearable, 90° in our carriage.'

Hanover was reached soon after mid-day. In the station 'stood the King and Queen of Hanover, and next to them Princess Frederick Charles of Prussia, the Duke of Brunswick, Feo Hohenlohe, my niece, and the Prince of Meiningen, to whom she is engaged, besides many gentlemen. There were also a band and guard of honour.' The Royal party at once proceeded to the Herrenhausen, the country palace of the King, which was naturally full of interest for the Queen, from its associations with her family history. Here the Electress Sophia lived and died, and here George I. was living, when he succeeded to the English throne. After luncheon, 'many ministers and people' were presented to the Queen, in the garden, where, Her Majesty records, 'we were broiling, and much time was lost.' A drive through the town, in intolerable heat and dust, at length brought the Royal travellers to the railway, and they set off after four, mourning the lateness of the hour, 'and I,' writes the Queen, 'with a racking headache.' Brief halts were made at Wolfenbüttel and Ochtmersleben to receive further presentations, so that it was nearly eight before Magdeburg was reached, 'where was Fritz [the Prince Frederick William] *rayonnant*, who got in and said Vicky was waiting for us at the Wildpark station, and many of the authorities with her. It was still very hot, but better than before, as the sun was gone.

'It became gradually dark, and the time seemed very long as we approached nearer what we had come for. One more stoppage at Brandenburg, and we arrived at the Wildpark station. There on the platform stood our darling child, with a nosegay in her hand. She stepped in, and long and warm was the embrace, as she clasped me in her arms. So much to say, and to tell, and to ask, yet so unaltered, looking well—quite

the old Vicky still! It was a happy moment, for which I thank God!

'Another five or six minutes brought us to the Potsdam station, where were a band and a guard of honour of gigantic guardsmen with pointed caps, and all the princes and princesses. . . . Then at the door of the station were the dear Princess of Prussia and the Princess Charles (her eldest sister). . . . After waiting a few minutes we got into open carriages; I with the dear Princess and Vicky, and drove up to Babelsberg. The Castle was beautifully lit up. The Princess and Vicky took us to our rooms, which are very comfortable. It was eleven! Many well-known faces appeared among the servants, and I felt half at home. . . . We supped with our children and the Prince and Princess, and then went up to bed, wishing our dear child, as of old, good-night. Very pleasant. Hot and dusty and tired. My nerves gave way; poor Cart's death came before me in all its reality, and my tears flowed.'

The next day was passed quietly at the Castle. Seated on the declivity of a richly-wooded hill, about three miles from Potsdam, and looking down upon a fine expanse of water, Babelsberg commands a very extensive view of the surrounding country. A finer site indeed can scarcely be imagined. The house, though small, is admirable as a piece of architecture. Internally, it is arranged in the manner of Old English houses, and the general effect is one of great elegance and comfort. 'Everything there,' the Queen writes, 'is very small, a Gothic *bijou*, full of furniture, and flowers (creepers), which they arrange very prettily round screens, and lamps, and pictures. There are many irregular turrets and towers and steps. . . . My sitting-room commands splendid views of the lake (the Havel), the Bridge, Glienicke (Prince Charles's Château), the Marmor-Palais, Pfingst-Berg, and looks on one of the lovely terraces. . . There are

'charming walks under trees, and fountains on all the terraces. . . . Vicky came and sat with me. I felt as if she were my own again. . . .' The heat continued 'dreadful, sickening,' —but the Queen and Prince were able to drive, with their party, late in the afternoon, through Potsdam to the gardens of Sans Souci, past the famous mill, and back 'by the little village of Nowawes, inhabited chiefly by weavers, who are very poor. . . . People very friendly everywhere.'

Amid the pleasant distractions of this holiday excursion the official duties of the Sovereign were not forgotten. A step was now about to be taken of the highest importance in its bearing on the government of our Indian Empire. The Act for the better government of India had become law on the 2nd of this month, and the Proclamation had to be settled, which was to be forthwith issued by the Queen in Council, setting forth the principles on which the government of that country was for the future to be conducted. The draft of this document was transmitted from England to Lord Malmesbury, the Minister in attendance on Her Majesty, and laid by him before her upon the 14th. It did not seem to the Queen to be conceived in a spirit or clothed in language appropriate to a State paper of such great importance. 'It cannot possibly remain,' is the note in the Prince's Journal, 'in its present shape.' The objections were submitted in detail to Lord Malmesbury, and by him transmitted with the following letter from the Queen to Lord Derby next day:—

'Babelsberg, 15th August, 1858.

'The Queen has asked Lord Malmesbury to explain in detail to Lord Derby her objections to the draft of Proclamation for India. The Queen would be glad if Lord Derby would write it himself in his excellent language, bearing in mind that it is a female sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of Eastern people on assuming the direct

government over them, and after a bloody civil war, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem, and explaining the principles of her government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration, and point out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilisation.'

A few extracts from Lord Malmesbury's Memorandum will show the value and importance of the suggestions elaborated by the Queen in concert with the Prince. || The draft Proclamation had spoken of the power which the British Government possesses 'for the undermining of native religions and customs.' Her Majesty, Lord Malmesbury wrote, 'disapproves of the expression which declares that she has the "power of undermining" the Indian religions. Her Majesty would prefer that the subject should be introduced by a declaration in the sense that the deep attachment which Her Majesty feels to her own religion, and the comfort and happiness which she derives from its consolations, will preclude her from any attempt to interfere with the native religions, and that her servants will be directed to act scrupulously in accordance with her directions.'

Again, the draft Proclamation had said that 'to relieve poverty' would be one of the Government's endeavours. 'These words,' says the Memorandum, 'scarcely express the meaning of the writer. The Queen thinks that this part of the paragraph should be extended, and that, in speaking of future "prosperity" in India, a direct mention of railways, canals, and telegraphs should be made, with an assurance to those prejudiced populations that these works are the basis and will be the causes of their general and individual welfare.'

The concluding suggestion of the Memorandum is peculiarly worthy of a Christian sovereign:—

'Her Majesty wishes expression to be given to her feelings of horror and regret at the results of this bloody civil war, and of pleasure and gratitude to God at its approaching end, and Her Majesty thinks the Proclamation should terminate by an invocation to Providence for its blessing on a great work for a great and good end.'

Lord Malmesbury had telegraphed to Lord Derby on the 15th that Her Majesty was not satisfied with the Proclamation. This had led Lord Derby to examine the draft; and before the Queen's letter and Lord Malmesbury's Memorandum reached him, he had anticipated Her Majesty's wishes, and entirely recast the Proclamation, amending it in nearly every particular to which Her Majesty had taken exception. On the 18th he forwarded the new draft. 'He is happy to believe,' he wrote in his letter to the Queen, 'that in the draft Proclamation, as he has re-written it, he has anticipated all the objections which your Majesty has so justly taken, and framed the document entirely in the spirit of your Majesty's observations.' The document, as it now stood, was one altogether worthy of the occasion, conveying as it did a message of so much goodwill, and an assurance so strong, that the Sovereign 'held herself bound to the natives of her Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bound her to her other subjects,' that it was well calculated to ensure their confidence. Only a few words were added to it by the Queen. Among these was the last sentence of the Proclamation as published: 'May the God of all power grant to us, and those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people!' Lord Canning must have found some compensation for the wrong previously done him

in the fact that the principles and almost the language of his Oude proclamation were adopted in this Imperial manifesto.

To resume our extracts from Her Majesty's Diary:—

'*Saturday, August* 14.—Babelsberg. Large and dreadfully hot dinner. The whole Legation: Field-Marshal Wrangel, Von Manteuffel, First Minister, Home Minister Von Massow, Obermarschall Graf Keller, and M. Nothomb were there. Wrangel is seventy-six and a great character. He was full of Vicky and the marriage; said she was an angel, called me "*Meine liebe Königin*," and said I looked "*Als ob Sie zum Tanze gingen.*" Manteuffel was most unpleasant, cross, and disagreeable. We sat on the terrace, listening to the fine band.

'*Sunday, August* 15.—More oppressive still. At ten we drove with the Princess and Vicky to the Garrison Church at Potsdam. Here all the Princes met us, and we went into a pew below, just opposite the pulpit and altar—rather close. The Princes, except Albert, all went to a pew upstairs. The church, a large one, is without any architectural features—the gallery full of soldiers. Just behind the altar is the tomb of Frederick the Great, closed in by a gilded railing. The clergyman was reading from the Gospel when we entered. Then came a fine chorale, during which, as in Scotland, we sat; then a longish sermon, then another chorale, then a prayer with an allusion to us, and the Blessing. . . . After our return to the Castle we saw our dear, excellent old friend Stockmar, who was delighted to see us again. He looks really well! No one came to luncheon but old Alexander Humboldt, who is in his ninetieth year, and wonderful for his years—full of knowledge and full of conversation,[2] talking of his travels in the most interesting

[2] Sir James Clark, who accompanied the Queen and Prince to Berlin, makes the following mention of Humboldt in his Diary:—'Visited Humboldt, whom I found remarkably well, and his mind active and alive to everything going on.

way. A violent thunderstorm came on with heavy rain and cooled the air delightfully. . . . Only a family party at dinner. After dinner came all our suites, and the cathedral choir, placed in the gallery which overlooks the large rooms, sang beautifully some fine Church music (*kirchliche Sachen*).

'*Monday, August* 16.—Air deliciously refreshed. At a quarter to ten we set off by rail for Berlin with the Prince and Princes and all our suites. We were there in half-an-hour. Vicky and Fritz met us at the station, along with Field-Marshal Wrangel, General Bonin, and General Alvensleben. I got into a phaeton with the Prince [of Prussia] and drove through the Brandenburg Gate. Our first halt was at the Prince of Prussia's most beautiful palace, before which stands Rauch's noble monument to Frederick the Great.'

The King's palace was next visited, and here, after luncheon, the Royal visitors were conducted over the principal rooms of this colossal residence. 'We went across an open gallery (very cold and inconvenient in winter) to the King's apartments—strange, dark, vaulted, dull rooms, left just as he used them, full of pictures of the interiors of churches, busts, &c.; then to the Queen's rooms, fine and spacious, but very cold, full of family pictures and busts, and everywhere Russian memorials, showing quite a *culte* for the Emperor Nicholas. From the Queen's window the first shot on the 18th of March, 1848' (see vol. ii. p. 17 *ante*) 'was seen.' The magnificent series of State apartments was then visited, which had a special interest, as being those in which the royal fêtes had been given which welcomed the Princess

It is delightful to see the freshness of mind of a man verging on ninety years of age.' Humboldt died on the 5th of May in the following year. The Prince, writing a few days afterwards to his daughter at Berlin, says, 'What a loss is the excellent Humboldt! You and Berlin will both miss him greatly, and I am glad that we had another opportunity of seeing him last summer. People of this kind do not grow upon every bush (*an den Bäumen*) and they are the grace and glory of a country and a century.'

Royal to Berlin on her marriage. 'The last of all these is the Weisser Saal, nearly though not quite so large as our Ball-room [at Buckingham Palace], with a gallery at the top and fine frescoes all round. Here the state dinner on Vicky's arrival was given and the Polonaise took place. From this you descend by a staircase, over which there is a fountain, into the magnificent new chapel which the King has built, all of the finest marble, with a dome and endless paintings of saints and great men on a gold ground. Very fine, but very peculiar. . . . This concluded the sight-seeing (*Besichtigung*).'

The return to Potsdam was made by railway, and the evening closed with 'a charming little *gemüthlich* family dinner in the Library: only we six, and Philip [of Flanders], good amiable Philip. Albert and Vicky played a little on the piano; we looking at albums in the Princess's pretty rooms.

'*Tuesday, August* 17.—Dear Mama's birthday. May God bless and preserve her yet for many many a year! The Prince and Princess, and of course our dear Vicky, wished me so warmly joy! Fritz had gone on to Potsdam for the Review.' To this the Queen went at ten in an open carriage with the Princess of Prussia. 'All the Princes and gentlemen were on horseback, Albert on a fine grey horse of Fritz's.' The Review took place in the large area, called the Lust-Garten, in front of the Potsdam Palace. 'Here all the splendid troops were drawn up. The Prince and other generals rode near our carriage, and the fifes and drums played as we came to each regiment. Then we took up our place. The generals and officers on foot were numberless; one could not mistake them, for every one here, except those in the Civil Service, is always and all day long in uniform.[3]

[3] In the Diary already quoted Sir James Clark says: 'One thing strikes an Englishman in these formal dinners and evening-parties—the perpetual uniform, not always very graceful, particularly the short coat. None of the Royal

There were about 4,000 men out. . . . They marched past in very quick time, with a peculiar step, throwing out the leg and stamping; but this action is not so disagreeable *en masse* as it is singly, and in the officers, neither does it strike one so much. The infantry first marched past, and then came the cavalry at a trot. The Prince' [of Prussia] 'rode at their head with his staff, and Fritz at the head of his Brigade. Princes William of Baden and Julius of Holstein came past with the artillery and hussars. It was beautiful. The band of each infantry regiment is preceded by the fifes and drums, who play first a sort of salute, always before the band commences. There were hardly any standards, the old ones not being renewed. The Princes kindly wished me joy of the day. It was a great treat. There were many people there, all very friendly and kind, cheering and smiling.

'We returned to the Schloss, and got out. First we went to Frederick the Great's rooms, left just as he used them, blue and silver, rich Louis XV. style, silver frames, everything silver, and well preserved. Several relics of his were shown, all carefully kept, his hat, and flute, a book of his, an old piano, &c. . . . Then we went to the late Queen (Louise's) rooms, which have been left entirely untouched, everything in its place, even to her parasol; *all* sad and cheerless, for the colour is gone out of everything, and the whole is so old-fashioned. Thence we went to the late King's rooms, and to the present King's and Queen's—not very comfortable, the present King's in particular.'

family or princely class ever appear out of the stiff military dress. In all places and situations you meet military. The whole country seems occupied in playing at soldiers, and the officers are perpetually occupied in drilling the young conscripts, as they only serve three years. Our officers have sinecures compared to those of Prussia. The upper classes seem to think of nothing but military matters. This is very sad.' The Austrian and French campaigns proved that this severity of drill was no mere 'playing at soldiers.' The 'sad' element felt by Sir James Clark remains, and is likely to remain, until many questions are determined, which will scarcely be settled by mere diplomacy.

After this, all the generals and officers were presented by the Prince of Prussia. 'They were all standing round the hall, and I had to speak to each. . . . This over, we got into our carriages and drove to the Garnisonkirche, where we got out and went to the tomb of Frederick the Great, the anniversary of whose death (seventy-two years ago) it was. His father is also buried here in a marble sarcophagus. Thence we went upstairs to see the uniforms of the late King of Prussia, the Emperor Alexander [of Russia], and Emperor Francis [of Austria], the three allies, kept in glass cases. The old custos was present at Frederick the Great's funeral.

. 'The visit to Frederick the Great's tomb recalled to my recollection a circumstance which had been mentioned to me many years before by my dear mother. As she was born the very day Frederick died, her grandmother, the old Duchess of Coburg (a Princess of the House of Brunswick), whose sister had been Frederick the Great's wife, would never allow the Duchess of Kent's birthday to be celebrated, which, as the Duchess said, gave her an early dislike for the Prussians. This old Duchess of Coburg was also sister to Queen Ulrica Juliana of Denmark, who behaved so unkindly to poor Queen Caroline Matilda.'

Towards sundown the Royal visitors drove by Sans Souci to the Neues Palais, 'a splendid building that reminded me much of Hampton Court, the same colour, same style, same kind of garden, with splendid orange-trees, which in the cool calm evening sent out a delicious smell. . . . We got out for a few minutes and saw one side and suite of rooms of this enormous Palace. The Garten-Saal, one enormous hall, all in marble, with incrustations of stones, opening into a splendid room or gallery, reminded me of the Salle des Glaces at Versailles. We went into Frederick the Great's room, and wrote our names down, as we had done at Potsdam.'

The next day (18th) the Prince went with his son-in-law,

in the morning to Berlin, where he paid a visit to Alexander Humboldt. The day was passed by the Queen quietly with her hosts in the beautiful grounds at Babelsberg—'entirely the Prince of Prussia's creation, for formerly there was nothing but sand and a few oaks and firs! We saw the monument which the King gave him in remembrance of the Baden campaign, St. Michael destroying the dragon. . . . Albert came back at three. . . . Later, we received Baron Koller, who brought an autograph letter from the Emperor of Austria congratulating me on my arrival in Germany—a very kind one.' In an interview with Mr. Julian Fane, the English attaché at Vienna, some days afterwards, the Emperor said that he was alone prevented from paying his respects in person to the Queen by the impending accouchement of the Empress.

The rest of the day was spent upon the island on the Havel called the Pfauen Island, in a fête which the Queen describes as 'charming and thoroughly German. . . . A band played; the evening was warm, still, and beautiful, and we were very merry. . . . At half-past eight we all embarked in our steamer, and had a very pleasant voyage back by moonlight.'

The Palace of Sans Souci was visited the following day. 'It is quite in the rococo style—built by Frederick the Great, who died there. It is all on the ground-floor, merely one story, low and dark, damp and cheerless. . . . Here also are rooms all in silver, which was Frederick the Great's taste. . . . The terraces, with the splendid orange-trees, which everywhere here are magnificent, and with festoons of creepers drawn from one to the other, are lovely. There are four hundred orange-trees here, two hundred years old. . . . The view from the Belvedere, which we next visited, is very fine, and the new Orangerie is magnificent, really one of the finest pieces of architecture that can be imagined—but what an expense!'

Berlin was again visited next day (20th) for the purpose of inspecting the fine art collections of the Museum and New Museum. Professor Waagen was in attendance, to lighten the fatigue by directing attention to the finest works of art, but much of the greatest interest was necessarily left unseen. As it was, the Queen was quite exhausted, and returned to the Palace, the Prince remaining for some time behind, unable to come away from the innumerable fine things which he might not have another chance of seeing. After resting at the Palace for some time—to resume our extracts—'we started in an open carriage, the Princess of Prussia, Vicky, and I, for Charlottenburg. . . . This is another Palace, and, though the situation is not pretty, it is, to my taste, far the most cheerful of the Palaces. It was built by Frederick William I. (the first King), who married George I.'s sister, Sophie Charlotte, after whom it is called. You enter a hall below, where there is a fine marble statue of the Empress-mother of Russia. The *culte* for her is wonderful, as indeed it is for the whole Russian family, and quite artificial, as the country hate all that is Russian.

'We saw first the rooms of Queen Sophie Charlotte, and the curious old chapel in which all the Princes and Princesses have been confirmed, and some christened and married. Thence we went through the garden along a fine avenue of silver firs, to the Mausoleum, where the late King and Queen are buried. In the beautiful chapel, which is all of marble, with admirably selected inscriptions in large golden letters upon the walls, are the noble recumbent figures, by Rauch, of the King and Queen, sleeping peacefully. Blue glass from above sheds a beautiful soft light upon these monuments. I admire the King's most. . . . The Prince [of Prussia] took us down into the vault, where stand the two stone coffins of the King and Queen, covered with wreaths of immortelles placed there by the family. Vicky and Fritz

placed the last. . . . We returned to the Schloss, and there went upstairs and saw the King's and Queen's rooms and their reception-rooms—all beautiful and cheerful. The poor King's everywhere contain such a curious mixture of things: Russian and scientific portraits and souvenirs, views of churches, &c. In the bedroom I was touched to see the prints of our children, as also Bertie's picture. Melancholy to see in all these Palaces the poor King's and Queen's deserted rooms, with all their little things left just as if they were there.

'We then visited the late King's and Queen's rooms, also left quite untouched, time alone showing its melancholy traces. Here was the Queen's unfinished work—she died in 1811—the King's coat, &c. There are curious life-size pictures of Frederick the Great's Guardsmen, the very tallest he had, in some rooms below-stairs. Upstairs there is a most beautiful *salle* in a suite of fine reception-rooms, called "Der Trompeter-Saal," on account of a curious sort of organ with trumpets which stands in it, and which was wound up, and set off playing and making an overpowering noise. Returning to the hall below, we went through a long gallery with wood carving and pictures, reminding me forcibly of Hampton Court, and through some smaller apartments, in one of which is the celebrated picture of Frederick the Great and his sister as children, he playing a drum and still in petticoats. We returned to the railroad, going through a new street, called *Victoria Strasse* after Vicky, full of beautiful houses and villas, and reached Babelsberg at half-past six. . . . For a moment we saw Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, who expressed the people's delight at our visit. We had a charming quiet little dinner of six in the library; and after it we all looked at a portfolio of old prints, from which Albert chose a good many. Vicky worked.'

The same day, the Prince notes in his Journal, 'came the

India Proclamation, rewritten by Lord Derby. It is now excellent (*recht gut*).'

The next day (21st) there was much business to be transacted with Lord Malmesbury in reference to Indian and Foreign affairs, and the Royal Diary records the arrival, by way of St. Petersburg, of 'very good telegraphic news from China. We have obtained, it is said, all we wanted. There is no mention of an indemnity to us,[4] though there is of one to France, and a grant of territory to the Russians. But the ports are open to all, and there is to be toleration of religion.' The afternoon was spent in a drive to the Pfingstberg, 'a new unfinished building of the King's, with a colonnade and two Italian campaniles, commanding a very fine view over the Havel, the Heiligensee, where the Marmor-Palais stands, Potsdam, &c. You can also see the spire of Spandau. The evening, after a very hot day, was magnificent. There is in Germany the same sharp clearness in the air which I found so striking at Paris, and which is so different from what we have in England. . . .

'We went next to the Friedenskirche, close to Sans Souci —a beautiful Italian church with a campanile and open cloisters. In the first court is a colossal bronze statue of Our Saviour by Thorwaldsen. In a small niche or side building, open in front, there is a beautiful marble Pietà by Rietschel, with a very fine painted dome over it. The church is entirely marble, of different colours, in the Byzantine style; so also are two lovely little side chapels, in one of which is a font. There are some beautiful things, too, in the colonnade.'[5]

[4] An indemnity was, however, provided by a separate article, annexed to the treaty, of two millions of taels, about 650,000*l*., on account of losses sustained by British subjects, and of the same sum on account of military expenses.

[5] In the Friedenskirche was buried in the year 1861 the late King of Prussia, by his own particular desire; and in the year 1866 there was also buried there Prince Sigismund, the Princess Royal's third son, who died, when

The telegraph brought tidings the next day (Sunday, 22nd) of the birth of a son to the Emperor of Austria. A letter of congratulation was immediately addressed to the Emperor by the Queen, in which she was able to reciprocate the regret which he had expressed at his inability personally to make Her Majesty's acquaintance during her present visit to Germany. English service was read at the Castle by the Chaplain to the English Mission. 'We were all there, and our suite, and the servants.' The Dom Chor sang beautifully.' In the afternoon a visit was paid to the New Palace, a very magnificently appointed building, with no fewer than two hundred rooms. 'There is a theatre in the Palace, and many splendid fêtes have been given there. So late as last year some were given for the Emperor and Empress of Russia, which brought on the last severe illness of the King. . . . There are some rooms done in silver, like those at Sans Souci and Potsdam, and all in very rich Renaissance style. Frederick the Great built this magnificent Palace after a war, to show that he was in no way impoverished by it. The millions it must have cost! But none of these Palaces are *wohnlich* (liveable in). None like dear Babelsberg!

'*Monday, August* 23.—Very oppressive day. We left at ten with the Prince, Princess, and Fritz, for the railway, where our suites met us, and went to Berlin. Here we got into a barouche with the Prince and Princess, and drove all through the town. . . . The Königsstrasse is the beginning of the old part or Berlin "city," not far from the Schloss, and the scene of the dreadful days in 1848. It is narrow, with high houses, and very picturesque. Here the crowd was very dense, and the acclamation very great. Nothing could exceed the kind and markedly friendly manner in

nearly two years old, during the war between Prussia and Austria. The Princess Royal has had his resting-place converted into a small chapel.—NOTE BY THE QUEEN.

which we have been received everywhere. This is very striking, as the visit has been considered as quite private and unofficial.'

An excursion was made the next day by steamboat upon the Hafelsee, and on the 25th a great field-day was held near Sans Souci, in an open space under the Ruinen-Berg. To this Prince Albert rode, the Queen driving as before. 'The day was most favourable for the occasion—no rain, and no sun. . . . It was a field-day, and most successful. The Prince and Fritz rode at the head of the troops as before. Old General Wrangel came to tell me the parole—'Victoria, Albert, and Zorndorf,' this being the hundredth anniversary of the victory gained in that battle by Frederick the Great over the Russians. Home by twelve. . . .

'Old Humboldt came to luncheon. He was quite wonderful; talked of having heard the speeches at Warren Hastings' trial, and of Lord Malmesbury's grandfather, when Minister at the Court of Frederick the Great. I saw a worthy old gentleman, Küpfer by name, belonging to the Chancellerie, who is a great friend to England. He spoke in the strongest terms of our reception and visit as contrasted with those of the Emperor Nicholas, and several newspapers here have also observed upon this. Humboldt said much the same. So much to do, to write, to settle, people to see, &c.'

The next day (the 26th) was the Prince Consort's birthday. 'Blessed day!' says the same record. 'May God ever bless my beloved Albert! The band kindly ordered by our children, and the Prince and Princess [of Prussia], played two hymns. I gave Albert all the children's letters. They had all written. So sad to be separated from them today. . . . Down to the drawing-room to arrange the Present-table, and found Fritz and Louise [Princess of Baden] there. Vicky soon followed, and then we went up to Albert, where we found Ernest [Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha], who

arrived this morning as a surprise. We took Albert down. My gifts were a picture of Beatrice, life-size, in oil, by Horsley, a complete collection of photographic views of Gotha and the country round it, which I had had taken by Bedford, and which particularly delighted Albert, and a paper-weight of Balmoral granite and deer's-teeth, designed by Vicky. Vicky gave her portrait, a small oil one, by Hartmann, very like though not flattered, an iron chair for the garden at Balmoral, and a drawing by herself. The Prince and Princess gave two bronze statues. Albert was pleased with all. Pouring rain. Still the band played. Ernest the addition to our happy breakfast. There were two birthday-cakes. Vicky had ordered one with as many lights as Albert numbered years, which is the Prussian custom.'

The drive of the day was by the Neuer Garten to the Antique Temple, where there is another recumbent statue, by Rauch, of Queen Louise. 'It is less than that in the Mausoleum at Charlottenburg, which is over life-size, but in the main features it is the same, only there are some slight differences, which make this one much more beautiful. Its *pose* is more natural and easy. . . . Coming back we passed quantities of people, as if on a holiday, on account of the illuminations. Thousands came by extra trains from Berlin. The good kind people of Potsdam are going to illuminate Glienicke Bridge of their own accord. So kind! Numbers of flags out everywhere in honour of the day. A family dinner-party, including Ernest and all the Princes. . . . The Prince gave Albert's health, before dessert, according to the custom here, and a salute was fired, and a flourish of trumpets given, when the health was drunk.[6] After dinner

[6] 'Now let the kettle to the trumpet speak,
The trumpet to the cannoneer without,
The cannons to the heavens, the heavens to earth,
"Now the King drinks to Hamlet."'
Hamlet, act v. sc. 2.

came all the suites, Foreign Ministers, &c. The whole place was beautifully illuminated. Round all the walks and flower-beds on the terrace were placed lamps, wreaths of lamps along the roads, round the fountains brilliant red lights, and the bridge, all lit up, was especially striking. . . . The Dom Chor sang some pieces admirably, and a M. de Bülow played extremely well on the piano. . . .

'Thus ended this dear day, which, however, I prefer spending at home with all the children. Still, it was great happiness to spend it with dear Vicky and Fritz, Ernest, the kind Prince and Princess, and Fritz and Louise of Baden.'

'*Friday, August* 27.—The last day. It made one very sad to feel this. . . . Visit from Stockmar. Satisfactory conversation with this kind friend, who promises to watch over our precious child. Then over to Vicky, who was very low and nervous—God knows, I felt the same!—and whom I cheered up as best I could. . . . After luncheon Ernest came and took leave, going back to Gotha. At half-past five took a short drive alone with dear Vicky, alas! for the last time. . . . Felt so at home, as if I had always been there. The old man on the [Glienicke] Bridge, who always talks, said, "*Wünsche Ihnen eine glückliche Reise!* (I wish you a safe journey!)" Saw Stockmar once more, and gave him our last farewell. . . . We broke up at half-past ten, and went up to our room with dear Vicky. Fritz joined us soon after. We stayed talking together, till eleven, happy, but dreading next day. Very, very sad on going to bed.'

The leave-taking next day needs no description, after the picture presented in the preceding extracts of the happy hours spent during the last fortnight. It is told by the Prince in his Journal in the fewest words: 'The parting was very painful (*Der Abschied sehr schmerzlich*).' 'Our tears,' are the Queen's words, 'flowed fast, and so did Vicky's, but our last words were, "*Auf baldiges Wiedersehn!*

(To a speedy meeting again!)' All would be comparatively easy, were it not for the one thought, that I cannot be with her at that very critical moment, when every other mother goes to her child!'

The Prince and Princess of Prussia accompanied their Royal guests as far as Magdeburg; so also did Prince Frederick and the Princess Louise of Baden. 'Here, alas! the real, last, and final leave-taking of all our dear friends took place. . . . So all were gone, and for a few moments I gave way—yet did I feel grateful, most grateful for all the great happiness I had enjoyed.'

The journey back to England was broken by a halt for the Sunday at Deutz, on the opposite bank of the river from Cologne. The Cathedral was visited, and everywhere the Royal visitors were greeted with the greatest friendliness by the crowds that thronged the streets and bridges of boats to see them. The city had put itself *en fête*. All through the streets the Union Jack and Prussian flag were hung up side by side, and the inhabitants had organised an illumination and a display of fireworks in honour of the visit. Besides the usual display, for which the situation of the town is so well adapted, 'the whole Cathedral was lit up, so as to appear one mass of glowing red fire. A shower of fire played from the tower. Nothing could exceed the beauty of the scene, and it was most kind and amiable of the inhabitants to get up this spontaneously.'

Landing at Dover at mid-day on the 31st, the Queen and Prince proceeded at once by the coast line to Portsmouth, where, the Queen records, 'Sir George Seymour gave us the delightful news that Affie had passed an excellent examination, and received his appointment. He had just gone to report himself on board the *Euryalus*, and would meet us at Osborne.' He met the Queen and Prince as they landed at the private pier—'in his middie's jacket, cap, and dirk, half-

blushing, and looking very happy. He is a little pulled from these three days' hard examination, which only terminated to-day. . . . We felt very proud, as it is a particularly hard examination.'

The feeling was justified, for it appears by a letter of the Prince's to Baron Stockmar, that the total per-centage of clear and complete answers given by Prince Alfred was eighty, while fifty would have been considered very good. Writing to Lord Derby a few days afterwards on other matters, the Prince added: 'I send you also Prince Alfred's Examination Papers, which may, perhaps, interest you. He solved the mathematical problems almost all without fault, and did the translations without a dictionary.' In his reply, after thanking the Prince for sending him these papers, Lord Derby wrote: 'As I looked over them, I could not but feel very grateful that no such examination was necessary to qualify Her Majesty's Ministers for their offices, as it would very seriously increase the difficulty of framing an Administration.'

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

Looking back from the comparative tranquillity of Osborne on the crowded pleasant days of the sojourn at Babelsberg, they seemed to the Queen and Prince to be already lying in some far away distance. But, although the importunate claims of daily duty came quickly to take the foremost place in their thoughts, still, in the background of their memory, lingered 'a store of images and precious thoughts that could not die,' and of which they were silently conscious, as laid up there to be drawn upon in future hours. Absorbed as the Prince was at all times, whether abroad or at home, in the hard work of his busy life, this seems to have been his state of mind before he had well set foot once more upon English ground; for on the 1st of September, the day after his arrival at Osborne, he writes to his daughter at Berlin :—

'. . . There is much truth in the simile of the stone that is cast into the water: it makes a great splash, and the waves swell out into rings, but the rings widen and widen, flatten and flatten, until at last the surface of the water is again smooth as a mirror, and as though the stone were not lying beneath it; it remains, however, at the bottom. I know not whether the thought is my own, or whether I have somewhere read or heard it; it expresses, however, what I feel and have often felt (in connection with the remembrance of the days in Babelsberg). Osborne is green and beautiful, but the weather cold and stormy. Mama will be much hurt

when she gets up and finds that I have had a fire lit. I am writing to you, you see, in the "golden morning hour!"

'. . . Alfred looks very nice and handsome in his midshipman's, or rather, naval cadet's uniform, the round jacket and the long-tailed coat with the broad knife by his side.'

The Royal children, whose absence on the 26th had been so much regretted at Babelsberg, were not to be deprived of their accustomed fête on the Prince's birthday. How it was celebrated we learn from a letter on the 3rd of September to the Duchess of Kent, who was now at Abergeldie Castle, close to Balmoral. 'I must write you to-day,' he says, 'just two words of thanks for your lovely presents, which came only yesterday into my hands at the after-distribution of birthday gifts which Victoria contrived and arranged here. . . . The children recited their poems, and played their pieces of music, and exhibited their works of art and science, all extremely good. I have been especially gratified, however, by Alfred's success at the severe three days' examination.'

'It is now settled,' the Prince adds, 'that we go to you on Monday. . . . We hope to pass your windows on the 8th. I am heartily glad at the thought of our meeting. Till then, farewell!'

But before reaching the repose of Balmoral, the Queen and Prince were to go through another public reception, more hearty and more acceptable, though less magnificent, than those with which the previous month had been crowded. On the evening of the 6th they reached Leeds, for the purpose of opening, on the following day, the very noble Town Hall, which the citizens of that great centre of manufactures had just completed for themselves. No British Sovereign had ever visited Leeds, and from all parts of the country people had flocked into the town in such numbers that, by the time Her Majesty arrived, the streets were crowded to an extent

never known there before. At the station the Queen and Prince, who were accompanied by the Princess Alice and Princess Helena, were received by Mr. Andrew Fairbairn, the Mayor, whom the Queen's Diary describes as 'a perfect picture of a fine old man, with dark eyes, snowy hair, and flowing beard. He was dressed in crimson velvet robes, with a gold chain; his bearing and manner were excellent, and he looked the personification of a Venetian Doge.' Mr. Fairbairn had given up his residence, Woodley House, on an eminence overlooking the town, for the Queen's use, and thither she drove through the densely crowded streets, which, it was remarked, were admirably arranged and kept.

The next day the whole town was astir betimes, and by half-past ten the Royal visitors were on their way to the Town Hall.[1] 'The day,' the Queen writes, 'though not very bright, was very warm. We made the entire tour of the town, which took us more than an hour. Nothing could be more enthusiastic than our reception, or better behaved than the people.' [It was computed that more than half a million of spectators were passed through, and order was kept without difficulty by 29,000 volunteers, members of the different local societies.] 'The streets were beautifully decorated with countless wreaths and festoons of flowers in paper, hung from side to side, and along the houses were flags innumerable (the Prussian included), and inscriptions, with here and there triumphal arches. Nowhere have I seen the children's names so often inscribed. On one large arch were even in large letters "Beatrice and Leopold," which gave me much pleasure—then Vicky's and Fritz's.'

[1] By eight o'clock that morning the Prince was at the local Exhibition of Industry. It was in the course of this visit that a remarkable incident occurred, which the reader will find mentioned in a note (vol. ii. p. 87 *ante*), when, on looking at a complicated wool-combing machine, he pointed out to the inventor the absence of an important piece of the machinery, which the inventor himself had not observed.

The Town Hall commanded great admiration. 'Both inside and out it is a splendid building,' the Prince notes in his Diary. On entering the great Hall, the Queen and Prince ascended a daïs. A prayer, 'a very lengthy and tedious one,' it is said, was read by the Bishop of Ripon, after which Addresses to the Queen and Prince separately were read and responded to. Commanding the Mayor to kneel, the Queen conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. Lord Derby then stepped to the front of the daïs, and, by Her Majesty's command, declared the Hall opened. After examining the principal apartments of the building, and lunching with the Mayor and Lady Fairbairn, the Royal party drove to the station, and resumed their journey to Scotland, greatly impressed with the loyal enthusiasm, in which Leeds had shown itself not to be behind either Manchester or Birmingham.

Resting in Edinburgh for the night, the Queen and Prince reached Balmoral next day. Never were the deep calm of its forest solitudes, and 'the breath of heaven fresh-blowing' from the mountains, more welcome than after the excitement and stir and tropical heat of the scenes in which the last few weeks had been passed.[2] Without loss of time the Prince resumed his favourite sport of deer-stalking; and on the 14th records that he had shot his first stag, and that a fine one. As in the coverts or among the stubbles he pursued his sport with a vigour which tried the strength of the

[2] By the time the Court reached Balmoral Donati's Comet had become a nightly object of interest. This year, like 1811, when the other great comet of this century made its appearance, was famous for its great heat and its fine vintage. The vague superstition with which the appearance of comets has always been connected, that they are omens of political convulsion—'with fear of change perplexing monarchs'—was found not to have died out. By the feverish apprehensions of war which then existed the credulous were predisposed to the same belief, and they justified it by the war which early in the following year robbed Austria of Lombardy, and prepared the way for the expulsion of the King of Naples from the throne of the Two Sicilies, and the extinction of the Pope's temporal power.

keepers, so on the hills the stoutest gillies found it hard to keep pace with him. In these pursuits the latent fire and force of his character could find a vent, which elsewhere were of necessity held under rigid restraint.

On the 20th Colonel Bruce, the future Governor of the Prince of Wales, arrived at Balmoral, along with his brother, the Hon. Frederick Bruce. Mr. Bruce was Lord Elgin's brother, and had acted as his secretary in the mission to China. Himself a man of great ability and tact,[3] he had been most useful to Lord Elgin in negotiating the terms of a Treaty, which, in Lord Elgin's words, had to be wrung from persons, who would 'yield nothing to reason and everything to fear, and who were at the same time ignorant of the subjects under discussion and of their own real interests.' No one was better able to give details of all that had passed in accomplishing so far the object of the English and French expedition to China.

The Treaty had been signed at Tien-tsin on the 26th of June, the anniversary of the day on which the ratifications of the Treaty of Nankin (the violation of which had led to the recent war) had been exchanged at Hong Kong, in 1843, between Sir Henry Pottinger and Commissioner Keying. But it had yet to be ratified by the Emperor of China. On this subject Lord Elgin was still uneasy when his brother left China, as, until the Treaty was ratified, he felt that the object of his mission had not been accomplished. Instead, however, of waiting in inaction during the period which must elapse before a definitive answer could be received from Pekin, he had resolved to spend the interval in a visit to Japan, in

[3] On the 21st of July Lord Elgin writes in his Diary:—'In sending Frederick away, I have cut off my right arm; but I think, on the whole, it was better that he should take the Treaty home, and of course he is better able than any one else to explain the real state of affairs here. It is impossible to acknowledge too strongly the obligation I am under to him for the way in which he has helped me in my difficulties.'—*Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin*, p. 258.

the hope of negotiating a commercial treaty with that country. This hope was realised, and a foundation laid for the friendly relations which have since been developed with unusual rapidity between the two countries. It was the end of February 1859, some time after the return of Lord Elgin to China, before assurances reached him on which he thought he could rely, that the Chinese were prepared, in pursuance of the Treaty, to receive our Ambassador peacefully at Pekin, whenever he should go there for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications. Relying on these assurances, Lord Elgin returned to England.

With his departure from China, however, the fear which his mission had inspired died away, and it had to be awakened with tenfold force, before the promised ratification could be obtained. When Mr. Frederick Bruce, who returned to China in the spring of 1859 as Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary there, was on his way to Pekin to exchange ratifications, he found his way barred by armed resistance at the mouth of the Peiho. He tried to force a passage, but his attack was repelled with heavy loss, and he had to withdraw.[4] Again Lord Elgin and Baron Gros returned to China, with a strong expeditionary force, and in October 1860 they extorted within the city of Pekin fulfilment of the pledge which the Chinese Government had so unwisely withheld.

During this autumn the thoughts of the Queen and Prince were much occupied with the arrangements consequent on the transfer of the Government of India from the East India Company to the Queen. Among other questions, the future relations of the Indian Army to the Crown demanded the

[4] In this attack (25th of June, 1859) the casualties among the storming party were 252 killed and wounded, and on board the gunboats twenty-five were killed and ninety-three wounded. Two gunboats grounded and fell into the hands of the Chinese, and another was so damaged by the fire from the forts, that she sank at her anchors.

gravest consideration. The view taken by Her Majesty on this point was, that the army of her Indian Empire should, for the future, be under the same conditions with respect to the supreme authority over it as the rest of Her Majesty's military forces. The British Army was commanded by the Sovereign through the Commander-in-Chief; and to make a distinction, which would have the effect of putting the Indian Army under a separate command, and in a species of antagonism to the Imperial Army, would, in Her Majesty's opinion, have led to the greatest confusion, and have crippled the action of the Government in holding India for the future, especially in times of emergency. The evils of separate interests and of a divided control, which had made it necessary to merge the powers of the East India Company in the Crown, pointed no less conclusively to the concentration in one focus of the controlling and disposing power over the army, on which our Indian Empire was thenceforth mainly to rest for its stability and protection.

On the 1st of September the Queen communicated her views to Lord Derby in the following letter:—

'Understanding that at the Council to-morrow the transfer of the Indian Government to the Crown will be officially completed, the Queen feels it her duty to express her views and wishes with regard to the future position and command of the Army in India. On its future organisation the Commission now sitting will report; but, from the moment that the Government is transferred to the Queen, her constitutional position as Head of the Army requires that the Commander-in-Chief should be put in communication with the new Secretary of State for India, in the same manner in which he is placed with regard to the troops at home, and in the Colonies, towards the Secretary of State for War. Eighty thousand men, or about one-half of the whole army of

England, are in India, and their discipline, order, and efficiency cannot be withdrawn from the official cognisance and control of the Commander-in-Chief; but, with regard to the whole army also, whether English or Indian, there can, with due regard for the public interest, be only one head and one general command.

'The powers of the Secretary of State as conveying the commands of the Sovereign are absolute over the Commander-in-Chief; but the advice of the latter ought to be heard on all questions affecting the troops, and he ought to be kept officially informed of whatever affects their discipline and general efficiency. This in no way interferes with the authority of the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India on all points connected with the employment and maintenance of the army in that country.'

Doubts were raised whether, under the recent Government of India Bill, the old powers of the Board of Control and of the East India Company in respect to the local Indian army were not now vested in the Indian Council, and the authority of the Commander-in-Chief limited to what it had been before the passing of that Act. Those who held this view went so far as to maintain that, although by that Act the East India Company's forces, military and naval, were thenceforth to be forces of Her Majesty, they were to be exempt from the conditions which attached to those forces in every other part of Her Majesty's dominions. If such was the strict legal construction of the Act, it could scarcely have been the intention of its framers, for they could never have wished to establish a divided control and responsibility in just that part of the Imperial dominions where of all others complete unity of counsel and of action was most essential.

Some members of the Indian Council took the view, as

might be expected, most favourable to their own power and patronage, and embodied it in an elaborate Memorandum, submitted to the Queen, in which the expediency was maintained of leaving the Indian Council to act upon 'the long-established rules' of their predecessors at the India House. The issues at stake were felt by the Queen and Prince to be of Imperial importance, and their views in answer to this document were accordingly embodied by the Prince in the following Memorandum:—

'Balmoral, 16th October, 1858.

'The appeal in favour of "long-established rules" would have come with more effect if the years 1857 and 1858 had not given us melancholy proof of the result of the system on which the local Indian army had been governed by the East India Company.

'Instead of the proper "chain of responsibility" which is claimed for the system, it would seem more correct to characterize the system as one of perpetual counteraction and conflicting authorities.

'Can anything be more monstrous, for instance, in a military point of view, than the relative positions of the Commander-in-Chief for India, the Commanders-in-Chief for Madras and Bombay; that the latter should be perfectly independent of the former in their respective Presidencies as regards the Company's, or local, forces, but subordinate to him as regards those of Her Majesty? And that the former, in the event of military operations near the frontiers of the different Presidencies, should be absolutely powerless to combine his operations, as far as the co-operation of local troops is concerned, beyond the limits of Bengal, without the concurrence, previously obtained, of the Governor in Council and Commanders-in-Chief of the subordinate Presidency? Such an arrangement seems only to equal, in injury to the

public service, those under which rates of pay, conditions of service, respect to caste, and the military system generally, as regards the Native troops, have varied in the different Presidencies.

'The great principles on which the efficiency of the military force in any country, and under any circumstances, must depend, are, *simplicity, unity, and steadiness of system, and unity of command.*

'We have hitherto had in India, not only a different system for each Presidency, and independent, or nearly independent command in each, but in each of these three independent armies, four independent kinds of force—the Queen's European, the Company's European, the regular Native, and the irregular Native armies! Under this state of things the result has been the mutiny of the whole of the Native army in one Presidency, and a state of discipline in the local European troops characterized as disgraceful by some of the most competent judges on the spot, and nothing but jealousy and animosity between the different services.

'The Queen's troops have alone, after being some years in the country, preserved an efficient discipline—and over them the authority of the Commander-in-Chief extended throughout India—while he was controlled by the Commander-in-Chief at home, acting under the immediate authority of the Crown.

'Here is the true "chain of responsibility," and it has to be shown that inconvenience has arisen to the service in India from that chain of responsibility, as regards the discipline and efficiency of the troops, being thus preserved in the legitimate and constitutional line, traced back to the Sovereign. Has the Governor-General or Indian Commander-in-Chief been less free to move and employ Her Majesty's troops, as the exigencies of the Indian service required, than those of the East India Company?—or have they been found wanting

at any time when the others have broken down? The events of the last two years, during which the *sole* dependence has been upon Her Majesty's troops, is the answer to these questions.

'The course, then, prescribed by common sense, in considering the future organisation of an army in India, would appear to be: To abandon "the long-established rules," which, in the case of the Native troops, have resulted in universal mutiny throughout Bengal, and, in that of the Company's European troops, in indiscipline and shortness of numbers (for amongst other faults of the old system is that of never having been able to keep the European forces of the Company nearly up to their establishment), and to adopt that system which has been most successful hitherto in maintaining an efficient force, that, namely, under which Her Majesty's regular forces have been governed.'

The very important issue discussed in this Memorandum continued for a considerable time to engage the attention of the Government and the Indian Council. In the end, the views advocated by the Prince were found to be confirmed by Lord Clyde, Sir William Mansfield, and other officers of the highest experience. But it was not till 1860 that the question was set at rest by a measure (23 & 24 Vict. cap. 100) which provided that the whole of the European forces employed in India should form part of the Queen's army, disposable for general service. The measure was vigorously opposed, but carried in the House of Commons by an overwhelming majority. In the House of Lords, Lord Clyde spoke strongly in its support, as the only means of securing that unity in command and in discipline, which was indispensable to the efficiency of the local army of India, and the want of which had been productive of great inconvenience and danger.

In the outset of the discussion of this important question

the Queen and Prince had the satisfaction of finding their opinions supported by General Peel, who was with them at Balmoral for some weeks, as the Cabinet Minister in attendance on Her Majesty. On the 5th of October, the Prince writes of him to Baron Stockmar:—

'. . . We find the greatest satisfaction in having with us General Peel, who is now here as Secretary of State. His likeness to his deceased brother in manner, in his way of thinking, and in patriotic feeling, is quite touching; he is a pearl in the Ministry, for he is fearless, and holds the service of the Crown to be his first duty. He stands by us in our difficulties with regard to the organisation of the Indian Army, which the Indian Council are seeking to withdraw from the authority of the Crown, and to deal with as their own property.'

The tenacity with which the Prince clung to principles in all matters of importance, social or political, did not blind him to the unwisdom of fettering the judgment by plans or resolutions in anticipation of events which may never arrive, by which many people create profitless hopes, and fears, and disappointments for themselves. In a letter to his daughter at Berlin, written at this time, some valuable remarks on this subject occur:—

'Balmoral, 28th September, 1858.

'"Excited or irritable nerves" is the courtly phrase that is used in speaking of ladies, but this, as likely as not, is a mere blind to cover the want of self-control in all sorts of ways.

'. . . For ——, who lives much in the past and future, perhaps more than in the present, it is a spiritual necessity to cleave to moments that are flown, and to recollections, and to form plans for the future, and to seek to give them

permanence and stability. This carries her of course into the realm of hopes and apprehensions.

'I am quite of your opinion, that true worldly prudence enjoins us to make *no settled plans*, but at the given moment to adopt the course, which may appear to feeling and to reason to be the most appropriate, and that, by so acting, the most disappointments will be avoided, and the greatest peace of mind maintained.'

Meanwhile the greatest uneasiness prevailed in the diplomatic world as to the imminence of war in Europe. The great increase by the French Emperor of his forces, as well by land as at sea, was well calculated to foment this uneasiness. It was hard to credit his assurances that this costly operation had no other object but to bring up the armaments of France to a level proportioned to the necessities of her position in Europe. From no quarter was France threatened. England, Germany, Austria desired nothing so much as peace, and Russia was known to be cultivating the most cordial relations with her recent foe. Against whom, then, were these formidable preparations being made? Those who knew the Emperor best were well assured that he had no hostile intentions towards England; but they were no less convinced that he was intent upon making some movement towards compelling that readjustment of the map of Europe by which his mind was fatally preoccupied. The chances all were that Italy would, in the first instance, be the theatre of his operations, and that success there would be made the stepping-stone for that coveted enlargement of the frontiers of France towards the Rhine, which had been inculcated upon the minds of her people by successive statesmen and historians as essential to the greatness and security of the kingdom.

Indeed, the Emperor made no secret that he looked to the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy as an event which he

was prepared to accelerate. A campaign with that object was an operation much safer than any attempt upon England; and, with such a campaign in view, to keep on the best terms with England was obviously his best policy. The principal governments of the Italian peninsula had so completely forfeited every claim to sympathy and respect by their persistent adherence to every vice of the most obsolete despotisms, that English popular feeling was pretty sure to go with any one who should assist in overturning a state of things which had long been a scandal in Europe. The prevalence of this feeling was in itself a gain not unimportant for the Emperor's designs; for it blinded the eyes of many to the danger to European peace of sanctioning the principle of interference by one European Power to upset the government or annex the territory of another. That principle once acted on, who could say where the innovation would stop, or for what other rearrangement of boundaries it would not be used as a precedent?

The reports from our Ambassador at Paris at this time all confirmed the idea that in the meantime at least England had no reason to apprehend any attack. Never had the Emperor seemed to be more firmly attached to the English alliance, or more vexed at the difficulty of maintaining a friendly feeling towards England in France, in the face of the violent language of a large portion of the English press, —language, which he told Lord Cowley he feared might 'one day render a continuation of the alliance impossible.' In the same interview the Emperor gave the following account of his European policy, which, read by the light of subsequent events, is not without interest:—

'I am told,' he said, 'that my policy is tortuous, but I am not understood. I am blamed for coquetting with Austria one day and with Russia the next, and it is inferred,

therefore, that I am not to be depended upon. But my policy is very simple. When I came to my present position, I saw that France wanted peace, and I determined to maintain peace, and to uphold the Treaties of 1815, so long as France was respected and held her own in the councils of Europe. But I was equally resolved, if I was forced into war, not to make peace until a better equilibrium was secured to Europe. I have no ambitious views like the first Emperor, but if other countries gain anything, France must gain something also. Well! when driven into war with Russia, I thought that no peace would be satisfactory which did not resuscitate Poland, and I humoured Austria in the hope that she would assist me in this great work. She failed me, and after peace was made, I looked to the amelioration of Italy, and therefore drew more closely to Russia. This is the whole secret of my policy.'

In answer to a question from Lord Cowley, the Emperor acknowledged that Russia had 'not exactly' given him reason to hope for her assistance in his benevolent intentions towards Italy, but added, that 'much would depend on favourable circumstances.' As the event proved, Russia was quite content to stand quietly by, during the struggle that soon afterwards arose in Lombardy. By doing so, she was able to gratify her vindictive feeling against Austria for the part that country had played during the Crimean War. But while well pleased that her old ally should be made to feel how much he lost in losing her support, she was equally determined to avoid committing herself either to any general measures for the erection of an Italian Kingdom, or to the ulterior designs of the French Emperor upon the Rhenish provinces.

While the French Emperor's eyes were for the moment intently fixed upon Italy, events were taking place in

Prussia, which were to give a new aspect, and one little to his satisfaction, to the slumbering question of German unity, and to the resistance with which any attempt upon the part of France to work upon the outlying weaker States of the German Bund was likely to be met. The King of Prussia's health had utterly broken down, and his mind with it—that mind, once so full of noble enthusiasms, so brilliant with intelligence, but yet so lacking in sound judgment and masculine firmness.[5] The Government, which for years had been in the hands of the extreme reactionary party, was at a deadlock, and the Prince of Prussia found the position which he had for many months occupied as Lieutenant (*Stellvertreter*) of the King intolerable, being, as he was, practically powerless, while associated with a Ministry in whose principles and policy he was unable to concur. The Prince's appointment as Lieutenant was about to expire on the 24th of October, and he had informed the Council of Ministers, that except as Regent, with full powers, he declined to continue to act for the future. The quiet determination with which he maintained his position bore down the resistance of those who were interested in maintaining the existing unsatisfactory state of things, and his appointment as Regent was signed by the King upon the 8th of October. The next day he assumed the office, and issued a series of orders

[5] Into what a state the King's mind had fallen may be judged from the following incident mentioned in a letter written from Berlin in September to Lord Malmesbury:—'The King saw old Humboldt the other day for the first time. The conversation turned upon his birthday, and Humboldt said, that on that occasion he had gone to Tegel to see his family, taking Stockmar with him. "Stockmar!" said the King, "who is he?" The Queen and Humboldt both explained, and by recalling circumstances of former days tried to make him understand. This, however, was unsuccessful, and they therefore had recourse to the *grand moyen* of writing the name down; but this was useless, the King persisting he never had heard his name. Yet there are people who wish him still to govern!' To appreciate the force of the remark, it must be remembered, that again and again the most confidential communications had passed between Baron Stockmar and the King.

in the official journal, indicating a policy in which the Constitution would be respected, and measures of useful reform promoted to meet the wants of the time. The two Chambers were convoked for the 26th of October. When they met, the necessity for the Regency was voted by acclamation, and amid general enthusiasm the Prince took the oaths required by the Constitution in the Weisser Saal of the Palace before the members of both the Chambers.

The tidings of the Prince of Prussia's appointment were hailed with great satisfaction by the Prince Consort, who was well aware of the unsatisfactory position which he had occupied as Lieutenant, and also looked forward to the substitution by the Regent of a liberal policy for the reactionary system under which the country had long been suffering. To Baron Stockmar, who shared his views on this subject,[6] he wrote from Balmoral on the 12th of October:—

'The Regency seems now to have been secured for the Prince. We have only news of this at present by telegrams from our children, but are greatly delighted at this first step towards the reduction to order of a miserable chaos.

'Will the Prince have the courage to surround himself with honourable and patriotic men? That is the question, and what shape will the new Chamber take, and what will its influence on him be?'

[6] The presence of Baron Stockmar in Berlin during the Queen's recent visit, although it was due solely to the desire to meet the Queen and Prince Consort, was viewed with rancorous suspicion by the aristocratic party, who held in abhorrence the man whom they knew to be the great advocate for the establishment of Constitutional Government in Germany. He was even accused of actively intriguing for the downfall of the Manteuffel Administration, having, it was said, 'brought in his pocket all cut and dry from England the ministry of the new era.' Stockmar's views of what was needful to raise Germany to her proper place among the nations were unchanged, his hopes from the call of the Prince Regent to power were probably great; but age and infirmity had for some time made a mere looker-on of one who had never cared to take an active part in the warfare of political life, and who always detested political intrigue.

In the same letter the Prince adverts to a suspicion which had for some time got hold of the mind of the Emperor of the French, that some of the European Powers were forming counterplots to his combinations, on which his restless and vacillating mind was perpetually brooding:—

'The idea,' the Prince writes, 'that Uncle Leopold is at work upon an alliance between England, Prussia, and Austria, against him has for a long time taken entire possession of Louis Napoleon's mind, and originates no doubt in the feeling, that, if he prosecutes an alliance with Russia, this dreaded combination would be formed from an instinct of self-defence and might more than counterpoise the Russian alliance. We are, in fact, on a more friendly footing with Austria than we have been for a long time, simply from the fact, that the latter, in the consciousness of her own weakness, shut up as she is between the hostile powers of France and Russia, feels the necessity for attaching herself to England, and for sacrificing to that object some harmless prejudices.

'We had the Count and Countess de Persigny here for four days. He is still the only true soul the Emperor has, but speaks with great frankness of his master, whose faults make him extremely unhappy, and with whom the party now in power denigrate him daily.

'Philip of Flanders, who was here for ten days, but unluckily brought down only two stags, pleases me more and more every time I see him.'

To the Prince of Prussia himself the Prince Consort wrote a few days afterwards (18th October):—

'My dear Cousin,—I know you have at this moment more than usual to do, and ought not to be pestered with letters. But I cannot refrain from wishing you, in just a couple of lines, joy with all my heart at the complete solution of the Regency question. The purely negative position which

you took up proved sufficient, as I always expected it would do, to bring about this solution, in accordance at once with your own wishes, with the letter of the law, and with the country's choice. Not the less, however, do I feel bound to acknowledge with admiration the exemplary behaviour of the Prussian people, showing, as it did, sympathy with the melancholy condition of their Sovereign, attachment to his house, firm confidence in yourself, and, as a consequence of these things, great composure in bearing with the frequently arbitrary measures, which they felt to be hostile to their most sacred interests. God grant you may succeed, despite the many personal difficulties by which you will be beset, in proving yourself true to the confidence shown you. . . .'

It was obvious that the earliest act of the Prince of Prussia would be the formation of a new Ministry. While this question was still in suspense, the Prince, who had returned with the Queen from Scotland on the 20th, wrote to Baron Stockmar:—

'The Prince has got well over the first stage of his task, and we may thank God that the Regency has been administered upon the whole in a dignified and constitutional way. Now comes the most ticklish point of all—the choice of a Ministry. If he shall succeed in getting or selecting capable people, his government, by its apparent quiet strength, its justice, equity and simplicity, will be productive of the highest benefit to the country. If the reverse prove to be the case, both the country and himself have an anxious future before them.

'The day after to-morrow I take Alfred to his ship at Spithead. That same evening he goes to sea. His departure will be another great trial for us. The second child lost to our family circle in one year. . . .[7]

'Windsor Castle, 25th October, 1858.'

[7] The *Euryalus*, to which Prince Alfred was attached, was destined for the

The Manteuffel Ministry did not avail themselves of the opportunity which the Prince of Prussia considerately gave them of retiring from office, in which it was obviously impossible he should wish them to continue. They even intimated to him that in duty to the country and to himself they felt bound not to resign. The Prince's answer was conveyed in the official announcement that he had summoned the Prince of Hohenzollern to Berlin, and charged him with the formation of a Ministry. By the 6th of November the arrangements were concluded. The Prince of Hohenzollern became the head of the Ministry without a portfolio. Baron Schleinitz as Foreign Minister, Herr Flottwell, as Minister of the Interior, Bethmann-Hollweg, as Minister of Public Instruction, Auerswald, as Minister of State, gave a strong guarantee for the infusion of a sounder and more liberal spirit into the future government of the country, while the appointment as Minister of War of General Bonin, who had made himself obnoxious to the late Government by his anti-Russian policy, was hailed as an indication that the foreign policy of the country would no longer be unduly controlled by influence from St. Petersburg. These appointments seem to have given great satisfaction to the Prince Consort, which he lost no time in expressing to the Prince of Prussia in the following letter:—

'Windsor Castle, 9th November, 1858.

'Let me from my heart of hearts wish you joy of the brilliant solution of the second part of your great and difficult task. Your Ministry is, indeed, one of honourable men; it will command respect both abroad and at home, and you will, and rightly, be applauded for the calm and resolute way, in which you have managed to effect what justice and

Mediterranean station, where the frigate was to remain for the next two years. The Prince Consort and the Prince of Wales accompanied the young sailor to Spithead, and saw his vessel bearing away on her course before they left him.

the best interests of your country seemed to you to enjoin. You will have had to encounter hostility from without, as well as struggles within your own soul, and I can quite understand how much the conflict must have cost you. Still, at the same time, in your own convictions you doubtless found much to cheer and strengthen you, and the growth in self-reliance, of which you speak to me as the result of the success that has attended the line you took up in the affair of the Regency, cannot fail to be further augmented by this second success.

'Prince Hohenzollern has acted nobly and patriotically in undertaking the post of President of the Ministry, and you will have a true, a staunch, and active friend in him.

'I ought not to tease you just now with family trifles, still I will let you know that Bertie, who to-day solemnises his eighteenth birthday, proposes to pay a fortnight's visit to his sister, and asks leave to present himself to you. It will not be a State but purely a family visit, and we, therefore, beg you only to show him such slender courtesies as are suitable to a member, and a very young one, of the family. To-day he becomes a Colonel in the Army (unattached), and will receive the Garter. Colonel Bruce, Lord Elgin's brother, has become his governor. Mr. Gibbs retires to-morrow.'

During the Ministerial crisis, Baron Stockmar was still in Berlin, where the Queen and Prince had anticipated that he would remain until the confinement of the Crown Princess, and be to her and her husband the same wise and invaluable friend, which he had been to themselves in similar circumstances. But he had been unexpectedly called away to Coburg, and one of his now frequent attacks of illness made it impossible for him to return to Berlin, which he had hoped to do. On the 18th the Prince wrote to him:—

'I am very sorry to have to send this letter to Coburg.

After what Uncle Leopold wrote, and as you gave us no intimation of your intention to leave Berlin, we had hoped that you would have stayed on there to the critical moment. Vicky will miss you terribly, and she is now every day more and more in want of counsel and assistance. Let me hope your absence is only for a short time, and that the cold will abate and so facilitate your return to Berlin. The railway, which is now to be opened to Coburg, will sound an invitation thither with its whistle under your windows.

'What an excellent turn all political matters have taken in Berlin! Indeed one cannot sufficiently praise the Prince! I am much gratified by his inviting his son to the deliberations in Council.

'. . . I am but so-so—much troubled with sleeplessness and with my stomach. We are terribly worried, moreover, with our new Indian government. . . .

'Bertie starts the day after to-morrow with Colonel Bruce and Major Teesdale, and hopes to be with his sister on her birthday.'

In his reply (20th November) Baron Stockmar was able to give the Prince many important details as to the recent changes in Berlin. Of the Prince Regent himself, he spoke in warm terms. 'On this visit,' he wrote, 'I have had an opportunity of gaining a clearer insight into his nature, and found, that he deserves much more regard, esteem, and confidence, than the majority of the people about him have given him. . . . On one occasion, when he expounded to me his views as to the policy of Prussia in regard to a neighbouring State, I found them so sound, so simple, so sincere and honourable, that I kissed his hand.'

From the Prince Regent himself came a letter, in which he enclosed for the Prince a copy, signed by himself, of his address to his new Ministry on meeting them in Council

for the first time. It contained a clear and manly statement of his policy, both domestic and foreign, which the Prince Consort manifestly regarded as auguring well for the future of Germany, and, indeed, of Europe. In reply he wrote:—

'Windsor Castle, 26th November, 1858.

'My dear Cousin,—I can no longer delay answering your welcome letter of the 18th current. You have given me a great pleasure by sending me your address to the new Ministry; for its language is so high-minded, manly, just, and liberal, that it did my heart good. The position you have taken up in home and in foreign, in secular and in ecclesiastical, in Prussian and in German politics, seems to me thoroughly sound, and it gives assurance of a happy future for Prussia and yourself. Neither do I think you need fear being driven into another line of action against your better judgment. The course the elections have taken proves tolerably clearly, that the party of orderly progress and of natural development has nothing in common with the Democrats, and that it is upon that party the bulk of the people rely, and that they will have nothing to do with the others.

'What especially pleases me is the prospect of seeing, for the future, among the Five Powers, a Continental Power that will take its stand simply and solely upon the domain of justice and equity, and will thus become a corrective element of the highest importance in the great Continental policy of intrigue. . . .'

The Prince then refers to the trial, concluded a day or two before, of Count de Montalembert, at the instance of the French Government, for exciting hatred and contempt of the Government by an article published by him some time before in the *Correspondant*, entitled the *Débat sur l'Inde au Parlement Anglais*.

'What an egregious blunder Louis Napoleon has committed in the prosecution of Montalembert! His Essay was, no doubt, embarrassing, but in a French Review it would have been read by only a few literary men, holding the same opinions as the writer, whereas now it will be spread all over the world. Hostile it no doubt is to the present *régime* in France, but it is full of truth, and a masterpiece of eloquence and knowledge of men and statesmanship. The sentence has produced the worst possible impression here, and the furious onslaughts which the whole press are now making on our neighbour will naturally create very bad blood there.'[8]

The task of the Prince Regent was no easy one, to steer the vessel of the State between the angry jealousies of the aristocratic party on the one hand and the violent demands of the Democrats, exasperated by a long period of disappointment and repression, on the other. In his address to the new Ministry above referred to, he had put strongly forward as his guiding principle, that there can be no just conflict of interests between Sovereign and subjects, and he had proved his faith in the nation by insisting that the elections for the Chambers should not be in any way interfered with by his Ministry.

Some months before (4th May, 1858) the Prince Consort had written to impress upon him the importance of using

[8] The sentence condemned Count de Montalembert to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 3,000 francs, and the publisher of the *Correspondant* to a month's imprisonment and a fine of 1,000 francs. Never was the unwisdom of a press prosecution more conspicuous than in this case. Besides calling attention to Count de Montalembert's eloquent contrast of the English with the French Government, it gave an opportunity to his counsel, M. Berryer, in one of his greatest speeches, to bring all the force of his rhetoric and sarcasm to bear upon the vices of the Imperial system. The Count appealed against the sentence to the Superior Courts. On the 2nd of December the *Moniteur* announced that the Emperor had remitted the penalty; but the next day Count de Montalembert, in a letter to the same paper, repudiated the act of grace and declared that he adhered to his appeal. Accordingly the appeal proceeded, and the sentence was confirmed; but was finally remitted on the 21st of December.

whatever power he had to prevent anything like interference with the free expression of the mind of the nation in the coming elections. 'The way,' the Prince wrote, 'the Manteuffel Ministry abused their influence at the last election roused in the minds of all patriotic and thinking men a feeling of disgust so deep and well founded, that you are not only justified, but bound, as a sacred duty, to forbid and to prevent any repetition of these shameful proceedings under the sanction of your name. That people will try to make political capital of the popularity of your name is, of course, to be expected. But to prevent this, and to restore to the people the unrestricted exercise of the political right which the King solemnly assured to them by the Constitution will be an office replete with blessings to yourself and to Prussia. How far it is possible for you, standing alone as you unhappily do, to exercise the control over the Government which they will require, I am unable at this distance to form an opinion. But a firm exercise of the will on your part will probably be sufficient.'

As Regent, the Prince of Prussia was able to exercise this control, which as Lieutenant he might have failed in doing, and the result of the elections showed that he lost nothing by acting as the Prince Consort had suggested. The clerical and military party naturally used all their influence to defeat the Liberal candidates. But so signal was their failure, that out of the whole 350 members returned, not more than seventy belonged to the party of reaction. The voice of the country, for the first time since Prussia had possessed a parliament, was allowed to be heard, and a Chamber was brought together which represented the country, and was not merely, as heretofore, a convenient tool for the purposes of an Administration by whom it had been packed.

These results were naturally regarded by the Prince Consort with the liveliest satisfaction. When the Prince of

Wales came back from Berlin, he brought with him a letter from the Prince Regent to the Prince Consort, profuse in grateful acknowledgments for his two letters above quoted. In this letter, after speaking of the excellent impression which the Prince of Wales had produced in Berlin by his tact and unaffected courtesy—'all that a parent's heart could desire,' the Prince Regent entered into a statement of the difficulties of his position, which invited from the Prince Consort in return a frank expression of his opinions on the situation. Accordingly he wrote in reply as follows :—

'Windsor Castle, 22nd December, 1858.

'My dear Cousin,—Accept my most hearty thanks for the kind letter which Bertie brought me. He has come back very well, and very greatly pleased with his visit to Berlin; I need scarcely add, very grateful also for all the kindness and generosity shown him. Our parental hearts are not less full of acknowledgment; and I ask leave to express to you our special gratitude for the Order of the Black Eagle conferred upon Bertie, of which we trust he will at all times prove himself not unworthy.

'I am delighted that you have in your letter given me an opportunity of casting a glance over the new phase of your political position. Assuredly the coming Session will not be an easy one, seeing that after a long period of repression a vent has been suddenly given to the free voices of the people. Meanwhile, looking at the matter broadly—taking this repression, and this sudden emancipation from it, into account—I cannot but admire the power of self-command which the nation has hitherto shown. If some extravagant demands or even absurdities should crop up in the new Diet, this, I hope, will neither alienate nor alarm you, nor lead you to adopt a hostile attitude in defence. In any case it is a free assembly of several hundred men, who will represent

as nearly as may be those interests and feelings of the most diverse kinds, which form the motive springs of the kingdom as a whole. It is in this diversity of interests and feelings, and in their mutual action one upon another, that the life and well-being of the community and the State lie, and from it spring, as in the organic world, vital power and the capacity of growth. The Regent's position is that of moderator, and your readiness to use it everywhere with firmness will be of essential service to the general weal.

'There will not be wanting some who, if this political life should become too animated, may find a malicious pleasure in pointing to this circumstance as a proof that the measures of repression formerly practised, and often illegally, by themselves, were not so bad after all, and that you are now reaping the fruits of your own presumption. Nevertheless, this would be about as wise as to chuckle with satisfaction because a horse is restive, and its restiveness is troublesome to its rider, and at the same time to recommend him, instead of mounting his steed in knightly fashion, to remain sitting on a hobby-horse of wood. To set down people of this stamp you will want neither justification nor excuse; for you have only fulfilled your duty as a subject, as a prince, and as a man of honour. The Constitution, to which you have sworn your allegiance, was not granted by you, but it is derived directly from those who will perhaps make it a matter of reproach to you that you have carried it out. Neither was it granted in haste, but as a retrograde step from the recoil which succeeded the outrageous outbreak of 1848, which outbreak again was directly caused by the King going back from his previous promises and assurances; and if we would trace to its source the sound principle—nay, the duty, which is your rule of action—we have only to remember the sacred promises which the Prussian Crown made to its people, when it summoned them to the struggle for freedom against the

French oppressor, and of which it made renewed professions when peace had been secured. No man capable of taking a clear survey of the past will see a Jacobin in you, or can fail to wish that your moderating influence, wherever brought into play, may never, by the way it is exercised, give occasion to your enemies to shake the nation's confidence in you, and so to make it apprehensive of fresh retrograde movements. For when in the fulfilment of a duty an impulse has been given to millions of men, the task of keeping this impulse always well under control is one of extreme difficulty, and one to the accomplishment of which this confidence is above all things necessary.

'Pardon this long dissertation. The importance of the subject and my regard for yourself, and not my love of talking, are to blame for it. . . . In true friendship,

'ALBERT.'

These letters were shown to Lord Malmesbury by the Prince, as indeed all letters received by the Queen and Prince from foreign potentates and all answers to them were shown to the Foreign Secretary or to the Prime Minister for the time. So also was one to the Prince from the Prince of Hohenzollern, which was especially welcome, to use the words of Lord Malmesbury in returning the letter to the Prince (17th December), as it 'relieved him from some apprehension as to the want of confidence in their own acts which he feared existed in the minds of the Regent and his Government.'

'I was aware,' he added, 'that every means were employed to alarm them as to the consequences of their boldness, and that at moments they were inclined to doubt their own judgment. In my opinion nothing would be more fatal to Germany than the appearance of a reaction, and that a mere change of *personnel* had taken place. There would not be a Prince left on whom the people would look with confidence that he would keep his word.'

The change which had taken place in Berlin quickly showed itself in a disposition there to co-operate with England in regard to matters of European policy. Whatever differences of opinion as to these might arise, it was obvious that they were now more likely to admit of friendly adjustment than before, when the views of the Berlin Cabinet were either dictated or controlled by another Power.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

The prosecution of Count de Montalembert was not the only mistake committed this autumn by the French Government. That was bad enough. Still it concerned France more than the rest of Europe, that her Government should enter upon the futile course of attempting to suppress the legitimate expression of opinion, which is the life of a nation. But the attitude which the same Government adopted in the month of October of this year, towards the Kingdom of Portugal, was of a character to excite the distrust of every State in Europe.

Early in the year a French vessel, the *Charles et Georges*, had been seized at Mozambique by the Portuguese authorities, while engaged in a traffic in slaves from the Portuguese African possessions. After the vessel had been condemned by the Portuguese local tribunal, and pending an appeal to the Superior Court at Lisbon, a demand was made by the French Government for the surrender of the vessel, and for payment of an indemnity for her detention, with threats of force in case of non-compliance, which were backed by the appearance of a French squadron in the Tagus. This high-handed measure, taken in defiance of all international law, inspired a general feeling of alarm, that France, under the Second Empire, was about to resume the domineering policy which had kept Europe in perpetual turmoil during the First. The coercion of a weak State, like Portugal, was peculiarly obnoxious to this country, as that weak State was an old and favoured ally, and had special claims on England for assistance.

Naturally therefore a strong feeling of sympathy was aroused on this side of the Channel, and fresh fuel was ministered to the distrust of the French Emperor's designs towards England, which those—and they were not a few—who deprecated the closeness of our relations with his Government, were not backward in fomenting.

Writing to Baron Stockmar on the 25th of October, soon after the Portuguese Government had appealed to England to interpose her friendly offices in the settlement of the dispute, the Prince said:—

'In foreign politics the old Napoleonic method is being insisted on with Portugal, and all justice is being trodden under foot *in re Charles et Georges*—an indication that France will not employ her growing power at sea for the advantage of the world.'

Indignation was general when it became known that France had peremptorily refused to submit the dispute to the mediation of Holland upon the question of right, and that, yielding to the pressure of superior force, Portugal had had no alternative but to comply under protest with the demands of France. The position was an extremely critical one. On the one hand the French Emperor, who had been instigated by his advisers to adopt these extreme measures, upon the assumption that the French flag had been insulted, was unable to recede without discredit. On the other, the feeling was general in England that we were bound to prevent our ally, who was in the right, from being bullied into submission. In these circumstances the position of the English Government was not a little embarrassing. A vigorous espousal of the cause of Portugal could scarcely fail to provoke a rupture with France—a result too serious for the issue at stake; while anything less was sure to expose them to the charge of pusillanimity and abandonment of their ally. Had Portugal waited

for the delivery of the French ultimatum, and claimed the assistance of England under her treaty obligations, the results must have been serious, if France had not abated her demands. Happily, however, the Portuguese Government did not adopt this course, but in a great measure relieved us from the difficulty of our position by yielding to the demands made upon them without waiting for the delivery of the French ultimatum. The action of the English Government was also modified by the knowledge, which at the same time reached them through Lord Cowley (28th of October), that the French Government had themselves become conscious that 'they had got into a scrape, out of which they had not extricated themselves with honour, and that they would be more careful in future.'

Some amends were made to the Portuguese Government by the publication in the *Moniteur* of a letter from the Emperor to Prince Napoleon, as Minister of Algeria and of the Colonies (30th of October), in which he forbade the continuance of the system of importing labourers from the African coast, out of which the affair of the *Charles and Georges* had sprung.

'As to the principle,' he said, 'of the engagement of the negroes, my ideas are far from being settled. If, in truth, labourers recruited on the African coast are not allowed the exercise of their free will, and if this enrolment is only the slave-trade in disguise' [as the Portuguese Government had maintained that it was], 'I will have it on no terms; for it is not I who will anywhere protect enterprises contrary to progress, to humanity, and to civilisation.'

This was as near to an admission that the Portuguese had been in the right as could be expected; but it could not obliterate the evil impression which the overbearing conduct of the French Government had produced. Gain though it was to Europe, that the matter had ended without war, still

the fact that peace had been imperilled for such a cause left behind it a feeling of general soreness and distrust. It was in any case inevitable that the English Ministry should be gravely challenged for not adopting a more decided tone than was deemed advisable in the circumstances. In such cases, especially where the hazard of war is at an end, Oppositions are generally bellicose. Accordingly, on the 3rd of November the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar:—

'The Portuguese affair has made the worst possible impression here, and the Ministry will find it difficult to defend themselves from the reproach of having left Portugal in the lurch. If they had taken up the cudgels for Portugal in the way the case demanded, we should have been brought to the verge of a general war.'

As it proved, Parliament had no sooner met than Ministers were put upon their trial in both Houses, by motions calling attention to their action in the affair. Lord Wodehouse, who led the attack in the House of Lords, withdrew his motion after an animated debate. A more formidable assault, initiated by Mr. A. W. Kinglake, in the House of Commons, fell to the ground in consequence of the dissolution of Parliament before the debate, which had been adjourned, could be resumed.

In the midst of the uneasiness as to the maintenance of peace in Europe, which prevailed at this time, it was no small satisfaction that the intestine war in India was rapidly coming to a close. The campaign in Oude was being prosecuted with unbroken success, and before the end of the year the Commander-in-Chief was able (20th of December) to assure Lord Canning that it was at an end, 'there being no longer even the vestige of rebellion in the province of Oude. The last remnant of the mutineers and insurgents,' he added, 'have been hopelessly driven across the mountains

which form the barrier between the Kingdom of Nepaul and Her Majesty's Empire of Hindostan.'

On the 17th of October the Queen's Proclamation to Her Majesty's Indian subjects (*see ante*, p. 285) was received by Lord Canning. By the same mail he learned that to the dignity of the office of Governor-General of India the Queen had added the title of Her Majesty's Viceroy. 'It is Lord Canning's earnest prayer and hope,' he wrote (19th of October) to the Queen, 'that, so long as this high function shall be in his trust, it may be administered in a spirit not unworthy of your Majesty, and that, when he shall deliver it again into your Majesty's hands, it may be found to be without spot or stain from any act or word of his.'

In the same letter Lord Canning explained that arrangements had been made for the Queen's Proclamation being read in English and in all the native languages, not only in the Governor-General's camp at Allahabad and at the seats of Government, but at the head-quarters of every province in the Empire, from the Indus to the Irrawaddy. He had no doubt, he added, that 'the Proclamation will have a strong and sensible effect,' though this might not be shown 'quickly or ostentatiously.'

'The mass of the people in India are quick enough in their jealousies and fears, but they are very slow to take in any novelties which do not appeal to those passions or immediately affect their physical condition. In this remark Lord Canning does not include the Princes and leading Chiefs. Most of these are sufficiently intelligent and well informed to understand at once the bearing of the Proclamation.

'To the good effect of the words in which religion is spoken of in the Proclamation, Lord Canning looks forward with very sanguine hope.[1] It is impossible that the justice, charity, and

[1] It is well these words should be remembered. We therefore give them here. Those in italics at the opening were added by the Queen to Lord Derby's draft on the suggestion of the Prince. It will not have been forgotten (see *ante*, p. 286) that the whole paragraph was recast at Her Majesty's request.—'*Firmly relying*

kindliness, as well as the true wisdom which mark these words, should not be appreciated.'

Lord Canning's anticipations of the good effect of the Proclamation were more than realised. Throughout India it met with cordial and unqualified approval. What was said by a native merchant of high intelligence at a public meeting held on the 3rd of November at Calcutta, called to consider a loyal address to Her Majesty, might be said to express the prevailing feeling:—

'I have read,' he said, 'the Proclamation of Her Majesty with great pleasure—with awakened feeling—with tears when I came to the last paragraph. A nobler production it has not been my lot ever to have met with in my life. The justest, the broadest principles are enunciated therein. Humanity, mercy, justice, breathe through every line, and we ought all to welcome it with the highest hope and the liveliest gratitude. Depend upon it, when our Sovereign Queen tells us, "In your prosperity is our strength, in your contentment our security, and in your gratitude our best reward,"—the future of India is full of encouragement and hope to her children. What could have been nobler or more beautiful, what could have better dignified the tongue of a Queen, than language such as that? Let us kneel down before her with every feeling of loyalty; let us welcome the new reign with the warmest sentiment of gratitude—the deepest feeling of devotion.'[2]

ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.'

On the same day that he wrote to the Queen, Lord Canning wrote to Lord Stanley—'I cannot tell you with what pleasure I have read the passages relating to religion. They are in every way admirable, and I almost envy you being *persecuted* for them, as you infallibly will be.'

[2] *The Times'* correspondent, from whose report this speech is taken, adds—

On the 2nd of December Her Majesty replied to Lord Canning, whose letter had reached her two days before:—

'It is,' Her Majesty wrote, 'a source of great satisfaction and pride to her to feel herself in direct communication with that enormous Empire, which is so bright a jewel of her crown, and which she would wish to see happy, contented, and peaceful. May the publication of her Proclamation be the beginning of a new era, and may it draw a veil over the sad and bloody past!

'The Queen rejoices to hear that the Viceroy approves the passage about religion. She strongly insisted on it. She trusts also that the certainty of the amnesty remaining open till the 1st of January may not be productive of serious evil.[3]

'The Queen must express our admiration of Lord Canning's own Proclamation, the wording of which is beautiful.

'The telegram received to-day brings continued good news, and announces her Proclamation having been read and having produced a good effect. . . .

'The Queen concludes with every wish for Lord Canning's success and prosperity, and with the assurance of her undiminished and entire confidence.'

Lord Canning's own Proclamation, issued simultaneously with that by the Queen, was indeed a model of what such a manifesto should be. It ran thus:—

'Her Majesty the Queen having declared that it is her gracious pleasure to take upon herself the government of the British dominions in India, the Viceroy and Governor-General hereby

'Genuineness of Asiatic feeling is always a problem, but I have little doubt it is in this instance tolerably sincere. The people understand an "Empress," and did not understand the Company. Moreover, they—I am speaking of the masses—have a very decided notion, that the Queen has hanged the Company for offences, "which must have been very great," and that fact gives hope of future justice.'

[3] Lord Canning had expressed apprehension that this might encourage the rebels to hold out and temporise. It did not, however, do so.

notifies that from this day all acts of the Government of India will be done in the name of the Queen alone.

'From this day all men, of every race and class, who under the administration of the Hon. the East India Company have joined to uphold the honour and power of England, will be the servants of the Queen alone.

'The Governor-General summons them, one and all, each in his degree, and according to his opportunity, and with his whole heart and strength, to aid in fulfilling the gracious will and pleasure of the Queen as set forth in the Royal Proclamation.

'From the many millions of Her Majesty's native subjects in India, the Governor-General will now and at all times exact a legal obedience to the call which, in words full of benevolence and mercy, their Sovereign has made upon their allegiance and faithfulness.'

During this month of December the Prince had an attack of illness, one of those induced by over-fatigue, which, although slight in themselves, seemed of late to have become more numerous. No one, looking at the great amount of work in various directions which he got through daily, can be surprised at this. Brain and body were overtasked, and it need scarcely be said of one so conscientious, that the element of anxiety about the welfare of the State, which of necessity entered into so much of his work, was calculated to tell injuriously on a constitution even more robust than his had ever been. Of that anxiety this year had brought no ordinary amount, and the aspect of the political horizon gave little promise that it would be diminished. But, true knight as he was, he never spared himself, where the responsibilities of his high position called upon him for exertion. A strong expression of weariness or of despondency might escape him in the hasty jottings of his Diary, or in a confidential letter. But those about him saw little of this; for he was always ready to meet any call upon his attention, and to take cheerfully any amount of labour, which could either minister to the public good, or lighten the burdens of the

Sovereign. Not over-careful about his own health, he was especially so about the health of those who were dear to him. At this time, he was unusually anxious about the Princess Royal, and, by a singular coincidence, in a letter written on the 14th of December, the day which, three years later, was to be his last, he wrote warning her to take precautions against the very illness which proved fatal to himself. 'Fever,' he wrote, 'is always a very wasting illness, because it stops all the functions by which the nourishment of the body is maintained.'

So much had the Prince been engrossed by the paramount claims of business during the month of November, that it appears by his Diary he had been able to read that month only one book—a most unusual thing with him—and that a novel, Kingsley's *Two Years Ago*. What he thought of it is best told in his own words in a letter to his daughter at Berlin:—

'. . . The poet is only great by reason that he is great as a philosopher. *Two Years Ago*, a book which you, I think, have read, has given me great pleasure by its profound knowledge of human nature, and insight into the relations between man, his actions, his destiny and God.'

A man so sincere as Mr. Kingsley, so in sympathy with the spiritual wants and questionings and aspirations of his time, so eager to help in lifting the great masses of the people out of the slough of ignorance and all its attendant suffering and vice, was certain to attract the attention of the Prince, and no less of the Queen. Accordingly Her Majesty appointed him one of her Chaplains in 1859, and he was subsequently engaged by the Prince to deliver a series of lectures on history to the Prince of Wales. Of Mr. Kingsley's works no one seems to have been more admired by the Prince than the *Saint's Tragedy*—the work by which his reputation in the

world of letters was first established, and is likely to be longest maintained. Of this work the Prince writes (25th January, 1860) to his daughter in Berlin:—

'My best thanks for your kind letter of the 20th. I was certain that the *Saint's Tragedy* would not only interest and impress you, but that you would comprehend and grasp the inner spirit of the work. The substitution of doctrines made by stupid men for laws of God-made nature is the core of Catholicism; the good God did not understand how to make His own world, nature is wicked, given over to destruction—a thing to be abhorred. Yet stay. Not so. The good God made it in the beginning altogether good, and the Devil has spoiled His handiwork; it is, to speak properly, the workmanship of the latter, and God is unable to help Himself. Then comes the Church and helps Him out of His trouble; she destroys this wicked, degenerate nature for Him and magnanimously gives Him his own.

'This is the true meaning of the flesh and the devil, as presented by the Church. Kingsley has depicted this work of the Church in all its purity in "Elizabeth the Saint," and the reader's own nature shudders before the image of what the Church has substituted for God's own work (*Ersatzgebild*).'

Among the Prince's readings for December was Mr. Trollope's *Barchester Towers*, no unpleasant relief to the perusal of Archbishop Whately's work *On the Mind* and of the *Memoirs of Prince Eugène*, with which it disputed his attention. All novels of character had for him an irresistible charm; and none, therefore, took a greater hold upon his imagination and memory than the early masterpieces of George Eliot, with which he became acquainted a few months after this time. He revelled in her humour, and the sayings of Mrs. Poyser especially were often on his lips, and quoted

with an aptness which brought out their significance with added force. So highly did he think of *Adam Bede*, that he sent a copy of it to Baron Stockmar, soon after it was published. 'It will amuse you,' he said in the letter sending it, 'by the fulness and variety of its studies of human character. By this study, your favourite one,' he added, 'I find myself every day more and more attracted.' It is pleasant to think of the Prince as escaping into the higher life and permanent realities of romance from his often thankless efforts to keep things straight at home, or his painful study of what he justly called (*ante*, p. 324) 'the great Continental policy of intrigue.'[4]

A problem of the latter class was now before the diplomatists of Europe. As the year drew towards a close, the impression that a war in Italy was imminent continued to gather strength. The estrangement between Austria and France grew daily more marked, and expressions dropped by the Emperor of the French led to the conclusion that an open rupture would not long be delayed. It was ascertained that he had formed the idea, that the true way to set himself right with public opinion in England, which he saw was now dead against him, was to embark in a war with Austria for the freedom of Italy. Means were taken to make him aware, that in this he would probably find himself mistaken, as however much England might sympathise with the desire of the Italians to shake off the Austrian rule, this would not overbear her respect for existing treaties, or induce her to countenance a breach by one of the Great Powers of the

[4] Fond as he was of high-class works of fiction, the Prince held that they should be sparingly laid open to young people during the years which should be devoted to study. Even during holiday time, he writes in a letter (17th September, 1859) to the Rev. Charles Tarver, tutor of the Prince of Wales, 'I should be very sorry that he' [the Prince of Wales] 'should look upon the reading of a novel (even by Sir Walter Scott) *as a day's work*. . . . I am for his reading a good novel, but would allow this to him as an indulgence.'

international engagements by which Europe was held together. How serious were the apprehensions caused by the state of the French Emperor's mind may be seen by the following letter from the Queen on the 9th of December to Lord Malmesbury:—

'The Queen is much alarmed at what Lord Cowley writes as to the Emperor Napoleon's supposed intentions to bring on a war in Italy. Whatever can be done to turn the Emperor's mind from such a project ought to be done. He will not reflect, but sees only what he wishes. If he make war in Italy it must in all probability lead to war with Germany, and, if with Germany, will embrace Belgium, and if so must, according to our guarantees, draw us into the quarrel, and France may thus have the whole of Europe against her, as in 1814 and 1815.'

Lord Malmesbury had by anticipation instructed Lord Cowley to press these considerations upon the Emperor of the French, and trusting to a *quasi* official contradiction by him of the warlike intentions towards Austria with which he was charged, Lord Malmesbury was indisposed to share the general distrust of his old friend. But the Prince Consort obviously took a different view, for we find him writing in the first days of 1859 in these very decided terms: 'I am very uneasy about the coming spring, for personally I have not a moment's doubt that the Emperor Napoleon contemplates war, and that it will be against Austria in Italy.'

When the time came for the transmission of the New Year congratulations, which had for several years been interchanged between the Sovereigns, Her Majesty's letter conveyed an indirect appeal to the Emperor not to disturb a peace, which, once broken, it might be so difficult to restore. 'May the year 1859,' Her Majesty wrote (31st of December), 'assure the tranquillity and the peace of the world, and may our two

Governments, cherishing their cordial understanding on all points, continue to contribute to its happiness and its prosperity!'[5]

This letter was crossed by one of the same date to the Queen from the Emperor, in which, although avoiding all reference to the question of peace or war, he expressed in the strongest terms his anxiety that nothing should interrupt the cordiality of the relations between England and France. 'I cannot,' he wrote, 'let the new year begin without expressing to your Majesty all my wishes for your happiness. I hope the coming year will be prolific in happy results for the alliance of the two countries; this much at least is certain, that my efforts will always be directed to maintaining a sincere alliance between our two Governments. In this view I feel bound again to thank your Majesty for having come to Cherbourg, for your presence there and that of the Prince have silenced the absurd rumours which people took pleasure in spreading.'

In the same letter the Emperor announced an arrangement which to the well-informed was full of significance. 'I have to inform your Majesty that an event will shortly take place in our family. Prince Napoleon is about to marry the daughter of the King of Sardinia. This marriage, I doubt not, will help to create for the Empress a companionship at once intimate and agreeable.'[6]

[5] 'Puisse l'année 1859 assurer la tranquillité et la paix du monde, et puissent nos deux gouvernements en s'entendant sur toute chose continuer à contribuer à son bonheur et à sa prospérité!'

[6] 'Je ne veux pas laisser commencer une nouvelle année sans exprimer à votre Majesté tous les vœux que je forme pour son bonheur. J'espère que la nouvelle année sera féconde en heureux résultats pour l'alliance des deux pays; ce qu'il y a de sûr, c'est que je ferai toujours mes efforts pour maintenir entre nos deux gouvernements une union sincère. A ce propos je dois encore remercier votre Majesté d'être venue à Cherbourg, car sa présence et celle du Prince ont fait cesser tous ces bruits absurdes qu'on s'était plu à répandre.

'J'ai à annoncer à votre Majesté que bientôt un événement heureux se pas-

The Prince, who was aware that the French Emperor had a few weeks before discussed with Lord Palmerston, a not unsympathetic listener, then on a visit to him, his plans for the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy, that he had in readiness sixty batteries of rifled guns, with their equipments, and that for some months a general rising had been organised throughout Northern Italy, could only draw one conclusion from the fact of the marriage thus suddenly announced. 'If there were no war in Italy in the spring, he felt sure it would not be from want of will upon the Emperor's part. As already said, this view had not been taken by the Foreign Secretary; but, before the year 1859 had well begun, the language of the French Emperor had convinced every diplomatist in Europe of the truth of what had hitherto been merely surmise.

When Christmas drew the thoughts back to the joys of the home circle, the ambitions and jealousies of States were for the time forgotten in the innocent mirth and gracious courtesies for which the Royal home was conspicuous.[7] Presents from home greeted the absent daughter at Berlin, that showed how she lived in the hearts of those from whose circle she was daily missed. Warm expressions of gratitude for these remembrances came swiftly back to the old home. We extract a passage from the Prince's reply:—

'Windsor Castle, 28th December, 1858.

'. . . We are greatly pleased that you liked the glass, and that Fritz thought it in good taste. We saw the pattern of

sera dans ma famille. Le Prince Napoléon va épouser la fille du Roi de Sardaigne. Ce mariage contribuera, je n'en doute pas, à créer à l'Impératrice une société intime et agréable.'

[7] We have had frequent occasion to show how affectionately all family anniversaries were kept up in the Royal home. A few days before the recurrence of her birthday this year the Prince wrote to the Princess Royal:—

'This will be the first of your birthdays which we shall celebrate away from you, but thoughts surmount all distance and maintain the fusion of soul with soul. May your happiness go on expanding without disturbance and without cloud! It has begun gloriously, and God will continue to bless it.'

it in Aston Hall, in Birmingham, where some of the glasses stood upon the table, and had been specially made to harmonise with the style of the hall. You see, therefore, that the glass stands in a mystical inward connection with your favourite Charles I., "the blessed martyr," and most blundering of kings, and this ought to make it especially valuable in your eyes.'

It is not every reader who will understand the Prince's allusion; but it was no secret to one so well read in history as the Crown Princess. She knew that Charles I. had slept at Aston Hall in October 1642, on his march from Shrewsbury to Banbury, to relieve Banbury Castle. She knew, too, that there was a romance connected with that visit, for among the suite that accompanied Charles was the son of the owner of the Hall, Sir Thomas Holte, who then for the first time for more than twenty years slept under the roof of a father by whom he had never been forgiven for marrying without his consent the daughter of Dr. John King, Bishop of London—King James's 'king of preachers.' Not even the personal solicitation of the King years before, by a letter in his own hand, had been able to move Sir Thomas Holte from his purpose. Neither was the heart of the old man softened by the sight of his son, under circumstances that might well have roused some yearnings of affection. The younger Holte, so says the tradition, still unforgiven, left Aston Hall with the King. He was wounded seven days afterwards, and died in the August of the following year, of a fever which he contracted while serving on the King's side in the defence of Oxford.

There was another who at these social anniversaries was always foremost in the thoughts of every member of the Royal family circle,—the Baron Stockmar. To him the Prince wrote as follows:—

'I send you, to-day, warm from my heart, a happy New Year, which I hope will reach you just at the right time. May the coming year turn out in every way to your satisfaction! That we have met twice of late, though unhappily for so short a time, was a great comfort to my heart; may the coming year in this respect throw that which is past into the shade! I trust you hold your purpose of going to Berlin at the critical moment, and that you will not brood over it too long, and so overstay the event. Clark is to start from here on the 10th.

'The news from Berlin continues good; even in regard to politics, I am hopeful of a quiet consolidation of the more liberal government. People all round naturally try to make the Prince nervous, but I hope he will not suffer himself to be misled. I have again written to him by the last courier and expressed my conviction that he ought to regard the more stirring life, which will and must show itself in a freely elected Chamber, not as a symptom of disease, but as a sign of vital power, and rejoice at its existence. . . .[8]

'Our son Alfred writes from Malta, and has by this time sailed for Tunis and Algiers. He is received everywhere with great cordiality; in Malta with 'reverence and loyalty,' according to the Governor's report. The Prince of Wales will start on his Italian tour upon the 10th. He is now very hard at work. . . .

'Windsor Castle, 29th December, 1858.'

[8] The letter to which the Prince refers will be found printed p. 327 *et seq. ante.*

CHAPTER XC.

THE bitter feeling which, as we have seen, had long subsisted between France and Austria was so well known, that the only question among political observers was, by which of these Powers the rupture would first be declared. Hitherto their mutual complaints and recriminations had been known only to the European Powers through the secret and confidential despatches of their Ambassadors; but now the attention of Europe was openly called to the critical climax at which these had arrived by a few significant words addressed by the Emperor Napoleon to M. Hübner, the Austrian Ambassador at Paris, on 1st January, 1859. M. Hübner had waited on the Emperor with his diplomatic colleagues to present the personal congratulations which were customary on that day. 'I regret,' the Emperor said to him in the hearing of those present, 'that the relations between our two Governments are not more satisfactory; but I beg you to assure the Emperor that they in no respect alter my feelings of friendship to himself.'

The words were slight in themselves, and such as in ordinary times would have been classed with those ebullitions of an imperious temper, of which the annals of despotic sovereigns contain many records.[1] But it was not thus they were interpreted, either by those who heard them, or by the

[1] It was truly said of them by Lord Granville in the Debate on the Address (3rd of February): 'These words might have meant everything, or they might have meant nothing at all.'

anxious thousands in every capital in Europe, to which they were flashed by telegraph as soon as they were spoken. Everywhere they were regarded as the first mutterings of the thundercloud, which had long been seen to be gathering—the prelude to the conflict for which France and Austria had for months been concentrating their resources. Simple as the words were, they were sufficient to shake Europe from side to side. Austria read in them a note of open defiance. Germany thought the time had come to look to the security of her Rhenish provinces. England, disquieted at the prospect of the question of the distribution of European territory being again thrown open, recalled the vehement language of the first Napoleon to Lord Whitworth on 1st February, 1803, when he had determined on a rupture of the Peace of Amiens, as a close parallel, both in tone and purpose, to the Emperor's address to M. Hübner. In the Italian Duchies and the Roman States the Emperor's language excited the wildest hopes of a speedy deliverance. Throughout Piedmont, however, the prospect which it opened of a war, for which the country was ill prepared, was regarded with anything but enthusiasm. The King of Sardinia and even Count Cavour were taken by surprise, for although they knew, as no one else could, how much the Emperor's words implied, they had not anticipated so early a declaration on the part of their ally. '*Il paraît que l'Empereur veut aller en avant*,' the latter remarked with a smile, when he was informed of the words by which M. Hübner and his diplomatic colleagues had been so rudely startled.

The rashness, which alternated with reserve in the actions of the Emperor of the French, had in this instance, as he soon found, carried him somewhat prematurely into an open indication of his purposes. France was not disposed to enter upon a crusade of which the advantages to herself were by no means apparent. The operations of trade and commerce

were instantly affected, and the funds fell with a rapidity which appalled investors, and baffled the sagacity of the most skilful operators on the Bourse. Prussia, pressed by the French Ambassador at Berlin to say whether she would be neutral, in the event of any complication arising, had answered in decided terms, that whatever nation first disturbed the peace of the world must not expect her sympathy or goodwill. England, though she would have rejoiced to see Italy emancipated by the united efforts of her own people from the thraldom of Austria and the potentates who leant upon Austria to uphold them in their misrule, spoke in much the same terms. Her publicists and statesmen distrusted a programme in which France and Russia, two absolutely despotic Powers, were to play the liberators of a country which, to be regenerated, must enjoy independence and be entrusted with the responsibilities of free institutions. Accordingly, instead of the sympathy from England, on which the Emperor had counted, it was at once made clear that he had only evoked a settled distrust and a resolve to hold herself free to act as the general interests of Europe might dictate.

The Emperor was not slow to discover the mistake he had made. Ostentatious civilities were shown within the next few days to M. Hübner, and a paragraph was inserted on the 7th of January in the *Moniteur*, referring to the alarming rumours by which public opinion had been recently agitated, and declaring that there was nothing in France's diplomatic relations to warrant the fears to which these rumours tended to give rise. But these assurances had no effect in allaying the general feeling of disquiet. The French funds continued to fall under the apprehension of an European war, and the Emperor could not but be aware,[2] that this apprehension,

[2] 'Péreire told the Emperor that his speech to Hübner would cost France a milliard. Added to the King of Sardinia's speech and Prince Napoleon's

strengthened as it must soon be by the announcement of the intended marriage of Prince Napoleon to the Princess Clothilde, would probably throw the finance of the country into most serious confusion.

While things were in this state, the prevailing alarm was augmented by the Address of King Victor Emmanuel in opening the Sardinian Chambers on the 10th of January, the terms of which, it was well known, had been settled with the Emperor of the French:—

'Our country,' said the King, 'small in territory, has acquired credit in the councils of Europe, because it is great through the idea it represents and the sympathies it inspires. This position is not exempt from perils, since, while we respect treaties, we are not insensible to the cry of suffering (*grido di dolore*) which reaches us from so many parts of Italy.'

Respect for treaties, it was felt, was not likely to stand long in the way, should the occasion arise for answering to this 'cry of suffering.' By all Italians the words were construed as an answer to their cry for help, which they now felt sure would very soon be enforced by French and Piedmontese cannon.

Austria was in no temper to take calmly the provocations thus openly given to her by Piedmont and France. She had all along declined to recognise the right of France to interfere in Italian affairs, and had therefore refused more than once to combine with her in any effort to bring about reforms in the governments of the Duchies or the Papal States, which might have restored them, at least for a time, to tranquillity and contentment. She was pledged by treaty to support the sovereigns of those States against any hostile movement, either from within or from without. Her resources were already strained to the uttermost by the

marriage, it is more likely to cost two.'—*Lord Cowley to Lord Malmesbury*, 11th January, 1859.

necessity in which she was held, by the action of Piedmont, of keeping up her military strength upon what was practically a war footing. She had a magnificent army. Her generals were reputed to be the best in Europe, and she was confident in her power to meet Piedmont, even although backed by France, successfully in the field. Her answer to the French Emperor's words had been to push forward her military preparations, and to hurry great bodies of troops into the plains of Lombardy. Austrian officers talked openly of the approaching advance upon Turin, which, they declared, was to be the first stage upon the way to Paris. If war were inevitable, as it seemed to be, the sooner, they said, for Austria the better. She had been long preparing, and she was now ready to act with effect. Piedmont was weak in forces, weaker still in finance. Russia, terribly crippled in finances, was still suffering under the exhaustion of the Crimean war, and had her hands full with her own internal reforms and social difficulties; while before France could come to the aid of Piedmont, a blow might be struck, the effect of which not even France could undo.

In this temper it was to be feared that some step might be taken, which should give Piedmont and France warrant for charging Austria with the blame of being the aggressor. Austria had already experienced that the pacific professions of Piedmont were not to be trusted. It was an experience which her chief Minister, Count Buol, was not likely to forget; for in 1848, when he was Ambassador at Turin, he had received from King Charles Albert the strongest assurances that no attack on Lombardy was intended, at the very time that orders had been forwarded to the Sardinian troops to cross the frontier. Determined to be secure against any second surprise, Austria now moved her forces to the Ticino,—a step which Piedmont did not fail to make a ground of complaint. At any moment some overt act might be committed,

that would give to Piedmont the opportunity of calling upon France for the assistance to which the Emperor, it is now known, was pledged by the agreement come to at Plombières with Count Cavour. The terms of that arrangement were still a secret; but those who saw the perplexed state of the French Emperor's mind at this time felt convinced that he had placed himself under conditions to Count Cavour, by which he was bound to a line of action from which he felt it impossible to escape.[3]

The Italian question had reached this critical stage, when the Prince wrote the following letter (15th of January) to Baron Stockmar:—

'The state of Europe has become very perplexed since I last wrote to you. Louis Napoleon thinks he has found the right moment for making war, and the right field for it in Italy, and the people about him, especially his cousin, have been constantly dinning into his ears: "*C'est une occasion qui ne se trouvera pas une seconde fois aussi belle.*" . . . The speech on New Year's day seems to have set light to the train before all was ready, and now all Europe is alarmed, and would fain establish a fire brigade. The money market is affected to a degree altogether incredible, and the loss upon the Public Funds in three days is estimated at 60,000,000*l.*! Even here the sympathy for the Italians is silent for the moment, because it is felt that the exchange of one tyrant for another is no emancipation. Only Palmerston speaks just as he did in 1848, and has already taken his line again from the Piave, which is to form the Austrian boundary.

[3] Lord Cowley (12th January) wrote to Lord Malmesbury;—'His Majesty is very much out of humour at what is taking place in France, and seemed yesterday very much cast down; but either his friends or some *arrière pensée* will not allow him to do the very thing which could restore confidence here, namely, declare that he had no intention to go to war.' That the *arrière pensée* was the remembrance of the engagement of which Count Cavour was in possession can be no longer doubtful.

'I still think that people in Paris will shrink from a collision. The Russians are of course "at the bottom of the whole thing;" they would be able, without any outlay on their part, to avenge themselves on Austria, and in case of things going wrong, they could leave Napoleon in the lurch, let themselves be bought off by Austria at the price of Turkish territory, and so be amply compensated for all the mishaps of the last war. Their game is simple and cleverly planned, but it ought to be seen through in Paris without any great perspicacity. The war, moreover, is not likely to be more popular there than the marriage with the Emperor's cousin is in Sardinia, which the Court has for that reason until now thought it expedient to keep a profound secret.

'The Prince of Wales will have opportunities of seeing and coming across much that is interesting. In this view we have thought it better not to change his tour on account of the crisis in politics. He is to reach Nürnberg to-day.'

The Prince's conviction that Russia had been mainly instrumental in deciding the policy of the Emperor of the French received a striking confirmation in the language used by the Emperor a few days after the date of this letter in a conversation with Lord Cowley. 'Look,' said His Majesty, as Lord Cowley wrote (20th of January) to Lord Malmesbury—

'Look at the difference of your proceedings at this moment from those of Russia. You are both interested in the maintenance of peace. England places before me all the responsibilities I shall incur if war is made, and informs me I ought to keep the peace. Russia, on the other hand, tells me that her desire is peace—that it is the interest of every country that peace should be maintained, but that if, after having well weighed the matter, I find myself obliged to take up arms, she will give me all the assistance in her power, by placing such an army on her frontier as will hold Austria and Prussia in check.'

The English Ambassador spoke of this insidious language as might have been expected. He told the Emperor that it was a direct invitation to go to war. 'It is,' he said, 'as if Her Majesty's Government were to say to your Majesty, "For God's sake, keep quiet; but, if you will not, there is a large British fleet in the Mediterranean which will lend you every assistance." Nobody could doubt, that under such circumstances there would be war in a week.'

The Emperor had by this time discovered that he had created a very formidable counterpoise to the friendship of Russia in the feeling which had sprung up in Germany, and which had been responded to by the Liberal Ministry with whom the Prince Regent was now acting. The instant apprehension of France's ulterior designs upon the Rhine, to which a campaign in Italy was regarded as merely the prelude, had drawn the various States of Germany closely together; and the French Minister at Berlin had been told in the plainest terms, that if Austria were attacked unjustly, public opinion would oblige Prussia to go to her assistance.

The new Prussian Administration was obnoxious to Russia for reasons already explained (*supra*, p. 321), and being obnoxious to his ally was obnoxious to the French Emperor also. In an interview, early in January, with an agent of the King of the Belgians, the Emperor complained of the dismissal of the Manteuffel Ministry in no measured language, as though it were a personal wrong to himself, and he coupled this complaint with the extraordinary charge, that the King, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, and the Prince Consort were actively promoting a German league against France. What passed upon this occasion was soon made known to Lord Cowley, and by him communicated to Lord Malmesbury, in a despatch which was at once made known to the Queen. At the same time a report by the King of the Belgians' agent was transmitted by the King to the Prince, and by him sent

to Lord Malmesbury. Upon this, the Prince wrote to Lord Malmesbury (16th of January):—

'My dear Lord Malmesbury, ——'s and Lord Cowley's reports are valuable for comparison, although saddening in the story, and the state of mind of the Emperor which they reveal. He has been born and bred a conspirator, and at his present age will never get out of this turn of mind, scheming himself and suspicious of others. For his schemes he wanted and still wants an ally. England was the only one he could obtain after his assumption of the Imperial Crown; but as the English Alliance means maintenance of public law and treaties, and progress in civilisation, it was frequently most irksome to him, and hence his constant complaints of the restraints to which it subjected him. Now he has got Russia . . . and is longing for revenge against Europe. He thinks himself safe in this alliance, and therefore comes forward with his schemes. . . . Nothing will arrest him but uncertainty about England and fear of Germany. . . .

'I need not tell you that I do not get up a Prusso-Austrian alliance. These Powers themselves generally know pretty well where their interest lies. Of my brother I have heard nothing of late, and I believe him absorbed by a new Opera which he has just brought out.'

In the same interview the Emperor of the French had urged, in somewhat dictatorial language, that the very existence of Belgium depended upon the intimacy of her alliance with France,[4] and it seemed to the Prince that the King of the Belgians' agent had failed to vindicate the true position of Belgium with proper intelligence or spirit. This conclusion he expressed with his usual frankness in writing to

[4] His words, as reported to King Leopold, were:—'*La Belgique ne peut exister qu'à la condition d'une union intime avec la France. D'ailleurs ce n'est pas seulement ma politique: c'était aussi celle du roi Louis-Philippe lorsqu'il mariait sa fille et voulait l'union douanière; c'est la politique de la France.*'

the King. In the same letter his frankness on another point of no small delicacy affecting the King's own opinions is equally conspicuous:—

'Windsor Castle, 18th January, 1859.

'I return with my best thanks ——'s interesting Despatch, and have charged Van de Weyer to report to you in detail everything which could be interesting to you. Nevertheless, I will add a couple of lines from myself. Your agent seems to me in the interview [with the French Emperor] to have defended Belgium badly; he ought not to have given any countenance to the Emperor's proposition of a separate alliance with France as a condition essential to the existence of Belgium. For under the Treaties the very reverse- that is, the absolute neutrality of Belgium—is the case. It is quite true that King Louis Philippe set up the same pretence. But it was upon this footing of neutrality, and upon this alone, that Belgium has, since 1848, been received within the European State-family, and been acknowledged as a brother.

'That I am at work upon no alliance between Prussia and Austria I need not say. Ernest seems to be chiefly occupied about his new Opera; but "a conspirator is always suspicious," and therefore Louis Napoleon is so. That he is annoyed at Germany, and that he has found an instrument for his purposes slip through his fingers in Berlin, just at the most critical moment, by the fall of Manteuffel, I can quite believe. The new national policy of Prussia is an incredible protection for Europe at this moment, and makes possible a sympathy between Germany and England, the absence of which was a great misfortune. I regret, therefore, to hear from many quarters that you show anything but trust in or liking for the new régime, but are rather disposed to shake the Prince's reliance upon the National and Liberal party.

Relata refero, but I am driven to do so by a sense of duty. Everything depends on the Prince's not losing his self-reliance. . . .

'Louis Napoleon has manifestly calculated thus: "Russia will be well pleased to avenge herself on Austria, and will, therefore, support me in my attack on Italy. England hates Austria, is mad for Italian freedom and nationality, so she, too, will give me her moral support. Prussia hates Austria, will be glad to see her humbled, and is to be won over by promises of advancement in Germany at the expense of Austria. Italy yearns for freedom, and will, therefore, receive me and my army with transport."

'I am not sure whether he is not reckoning without his host on all these four points, as well as on a fifth, namely, that the French nation is by no means anxious for war. Had the words of the 1st of January been let fall for the first time in April, and after a rising in Milan and sundry acts of violence on the part of Austria towards her insurgent Italian subjects, things might stand, or have stood, differently. But several months of meditation, whether it is Christian, politic, or of advantage, &c. &c., to make war, is a great drawback to him, and the Bourse is an eloquent preacher for peace. Sardinia is trying to raise money in the London market, and cannot get a penny. . . .[5]

'Louis Napoleon told Lord Clarendon at Compiègne that he neither will nor can undertake any reform or change in Rome or with Rome, that even Naples must be left at peace, in order to please the Russians—that only Lombardy, therefore, is left as a field for political action. The two purposes of the last war (that in the East), so far as France was concerned,

[5] 'The banker Lafitte was with me on Thursday. He is trying in vain to raise a loan for Cavour, and cannot get 1,000*l*. He says that Cavour is bankrupt and desperate, and that, if the panic lasts, all the small proprietors of personal property in France will be ruined. There is as yet no improvement.'—*Letter from Lord Malmesbury to the Prince*, 15th of January, 1859.

had been Poland and Italy. Poland had been put on one side at the conclusion of peace, so only Italy was left, and that he was pledged to the country to reorganise. At the same time I share your belief that the dread of assassination has a great deal to do in the business, and that Cavour spares no pains to stimulate this apprehension, so as to keep his horse going, giving him an occasional cut of the whip by sending him accounts of fresh discoveries of assassination plots.[6]

'I have just been reading in the *Economist* a very remarkable compilation in reference to the French State Debt, which I extract, as it cannot fail to interest you. It was in

	£
1814	50,600,000
1830	177,000,000
1851	213,800,000
1858	336,880,000

'This speaks volumes!'

By this time the panic in France had grown to such serious proportions, that the Emperor found himself in a formidable dilemma. Austria might at any moment precipitate a war, for which his own preparations were not complete. Piedmont might do the same, relying upon his support, in which case he would be bound to act upon the side of the Power which the rest of Europe would in that case declare had placed itself in the wrong. Either event was equally to be deprecated. To gain time and to trust that Austria would do something to set him free from the imputation of courting

[6] So the first Napoleon was constantly told by Fouché, in 1803, that there were 'poignards in the air,' while the Minister of Police was maturing his plans for getting Moreau, Pichégru, Georges Cadoudal, and their friends into his toils. There was, however, a foundation for Cavour's suggestions. In Fouché's case there was none.

a war was now his obvious policy. At the same time he admitted the understanding come to with Count Cavour at Plombières so far as to avow that he had there come under engagement to assist the King of Sardinia, but only in the event of an unprovoked attack by Austria. If she placed herself in the wrong, she should have no support from him. This was the language he held in a conversation with Lord Cowley (18th January), and by him reported to Lord Malmesbury:—

'What I said to M. de Cavour' [in the interviews at Plombières] 'I repeat now. My sympathies have always been, and still are, with Italy. I regret that Lombardy should be in the possession of Austria, but I cannot and do not dispute the right of the latter. I respect existing treaties, because they are the only landmarks we have. So long as Austria remains within her own frontiers she is, of course, mistress to do as she pleases. With regard to Sardinia, if she provokes hostilities unjustly, and places herself in the wrong, she must expect no support from me.'

For the moment it seemed to the outside world that the danger of war had blown over; but it was palpable that, if the stormcloud had not broken, it was still there. When or how it would break, it was as impossible to divine as it was to foresee what changes would be revealed, when the forces pent up within it had discharged their fury. But that it must break, and that soon, was well-nigh certain. Meanwhile the Chanceries of every Court in Europe were agitated from day to day by conflicting rumours of alliances and coalitions. If war began in Italy, the whole Continent might soon be in a blaze, and each of the Powers had to consider on whom it could count for support in the event of a general war. A close alliance, offensive and defensive, between Austria and Prussia would have been the surest barrier to the spread of war beyond Italy.[7] Accordingly strenuous efforts were made

[7] On the 5th of February, Count Buol addressed an appeal to the same

by Austria to induce Prussia to enter into such an alliance by anticipation, and King Leopold sent to the Prince for perusal a Despatch of M. Nothomb, his Ambassador at Berlin, in which the justice of calling on Prussia to take this step was advocated. In this view the Prince did not concur, resting his conclusion upon his favourite principle, that it is time enough for men or nations to decide their course of action, when the facts on which to base a decision are clearly developed. Accordingly, on returning the Despatch to King Leopold (27th January), he writes:—

'I return Nothomb's Despatch with my best thanks. The parallel he draws with the Eastern struggle is not an apt one. In that case Europe had declared by Protocol that Russia was in the wrong, and that, if she persisted, she would violate International Law and the interests of Europe in Turkey. Prussia had been a party to this decision, but when it came to enforcing by the sword what it had joined in saying, and thereby preventing war, Prussia drew back and took refuge in her neutrality. In the present case nothing has actually been done, no overt act has been committed, on which Europe could pronounce judgment, and what is disquieting Europe consists solely of rumours, of apprehensions, of surmises, which are denied by the party suspected. Such being the case, to ask for a declaration from Prussia, the weakest and most distracted State among the five Great Powers, as to how it will act in a state of things which may never arise, would be most unfair.

'Will Russia support France in her designs? Everything seems to me to indicate that she has plotted and set on foot the whole affair. The proofs of this lie plainly before one's eyes. Yet it cannot be well, that she should first avenge

effect to all the States of the German Confederation, in a Despatch to the Representatives of Austria at the different Courts of Germany. With singular *maladresse* he omitted to address this communication to Prussia also.

herself on Austria, and then, having done this, leave France in the lurch. If, besides this, she can involve us in war with France, she will have avenged herself on all three, and may then laugh in her sleeve and quietly pursue her own interests. I have not the shadow of a doubt that this is the plan, and I believe that Austria will come out of the fray seriously damaged, but that it may prove the ruin of the Emperor Napoleon. The Russians are sure to be busy even in Venice. That the whole East is ripe is certain, and hence the position which Austria has taken in Belgrade is utterly false and mistaken.[8] She is sure to be driven to measures, which will furnish France with the pretext for making war. The Emperor *attend un événement*, to use his own phrase. The responsibility which he takes upon himself before God is frightful.'

The same day the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar. His opinion that there would be war in the spring had up to this time undergone no change:—

'Vicky appears to be quite well and cheerful. Clark is satisfied with her. With the state of politics it is impossible to be so. We shall certainly have war in the spring.

'The campaign of Marengo has roused great antipathy in the public here, and converted the frenzy for Italian freedom and nationality all at once into hostility against the new disturber of the peace. This is something that had not been calculated on. "*Voyez la différence entre la Russie et l'Angleterre: la dernière, toujours égoïste, me calomnie, me maltraite de toute manière; l'autre veut la paix tout autant que l'Angleterre, me prie de la respecter, etc., mais ajoute,*

[8] Austria had taken up the view, contrary to that held by all the other signataries to the Treaty of Paris, 1856, that the fortress of Belgrade was exclusively Turkish; and had promised to aid the Turkish Government in maintaining this opinion by force, if necessary. This would have played into the hands of France and Russia, both eager for a rupture with Austria, with right on their side.

Si vous devez faire la guerre, mon armée est là pour tenir vos ennemis en échec. Voilà un bon allié."

'The indignation [of the Emperor of the French] at the new Prussian Ministry is very great. "During the Italian war, the change of Ministry would have been quite right, but now it is altogether stupid. It annoys the Russians, who are now my friends."

'The *Idées Napoléoniennes* required an ally for their accomplishment. England was wholly unsuitable for the purpose. The Russian has been found ready and willing; the moment is therefore favourable.

'The Ministry up to this time have not been able to settle a Reform Bill. Parliament meets on the 5th. I am weary and out of heart.'

Weary and out of heart as the Prince was, the news which reached him by telegram from Berlin, soon after this letter was written, were of a kind to make him forget for a time all weariness and misgiving. They told him that his daughter was the happy mother of a fine boy. Among the numerous correspondents, to whom letters about this auspicious event had to be written, Baron Stockmar was not likely to be forgotten. To him he wrote (29th January):—

'I must write a couple of lines to you also. The news from Berlin came an hour after my last letter to you had been despatched. You will join with me in exclaiming, "God be praised and thanked, that He has ordered all things so graciously, and may He continue to shield the mother and her child!" The details which the courier brought us yesterday gave us our first information of the severe suffering which poor Vicky had undergone, and of the great danger in which the child's life had hovered for a time. Here the sympathy is general, and in Berlin the rejoicings appear to be very great.'

Congratulations poured in upon the Queen and Prince from every side with a copiousness which showed that the lively interest taken throughout the kingdom in the Princess Royal at the time of her marriage had in no way abated. 'The joy and interest taken here,' the Queen writes to King Leopold, 'are as great as in Prussia, which is very gratifying.' To this the Prince also refers with obvious pride, in writing to the King (2nd February):—

'Hearty thanks for your welcome letter and the good wishes for our grand-parental honours. The dignity sits very well upon us. But how grateful must we be to heaven that it has ordered all so graciously! The danger for the child and the sufferings for the mother were serious. Poor Fritz and the Prince and Princess must have undergone terrible anxiety, as they had no hope of the birth of a living child, and their joy over a strong, healthy boy is, therefore, all the greater. In Berlin the rejoicing over the birth of an (eventual) heir to the throne seems to have been unbounded, and even here the sympathy is universal. Vicky seems to be recovering well, and so may the All Merciful send a happy issue to it all!'[9]

King Leopold had thought it due to himself to disabuse the mind of the French Sovereign of the absurd but mischievous suspicion that he was negotiating a league against France. He had therefore written in very explicit terms to the Emperor, who in the meantime had learned from the Duc de Malakoff,

[9] 'Oh! my dearest Victoria,' the Queen's sister wrote (3rd of February) to Her Majesty, 'I feel all the anxiety and pain you must have suffered. It is so dreadful to know what a young creature has to go through—one's own child, whom we have protected from every ill, guarded against every evil; now we must see them in danger, and tortured by pain. Well, thank God! we may be happy at this moment, the accounts are so good. . . . It is delightful to see how general the feelings of interest are on this occasion. The papers are full of it from all sides and parts of Germany, as well as in England. Oh! if only on all subjects the two nations would feel and act together.'—*Letters of Feodora, Princess of Hohenlohe-Langenburg.* 1874.

his Ambassador at the English Court, and also from Lord Cowley, how utterly groundless were his suspicions of the Prince Consort in the same direction, and had written a letter to King Leopold in reply, admitting that he had been mistaken. A copy of this letter had been sent by King Leopold to the Prince. In it the Emperor acknowledged, that pains had been taken to represent the King to him as the promoter of such a league. These rumours, although he did not altogether believe them, had, he admitted, made an impression on his mind. That it still lingered there was apparent from the letter itself; for it conveyed an intimation, how well aware the King must be, that France had always since 1815 had before her the phantom of coalitions against herself, and that the surest way to rouse her *amour propre*, and to waken up anew animosities which were even yet not wholly extinguished, would be to make her think a league had been formed against her independence. Such a league, he was persuaded, would never be thought of by a king of so much experience, of such admirable judgment, as his correspondent.

The Prince, whose faith in the sincerity of the Emperor was already greatly shaken, had no difficulty in reading between the lines of this letter, which, while it implied a menace, gave no assurance of the pacific intentions which could alone have given tranquillity to Europe. Accordingly he speaks of it thus in the letter to the King, from which we have just quoted:—

'For the Emperor's letter I am sincerely grateful. Unfortunately I can find nothing in it of a tranquillising kind. It really contains nothing, gives no assurance as to what he will or will not do, but merely takes formal note of the assurances you have given him, and puts them as capital into his pocket. This being so, it is not well to correspond with him.

'We invited the Russians among others to join with

us in counselling peace at Paris. They immediately informed Walewski that we had done so, adding that "they never gave advice where they were not asked to give it, moreover, there could be no doubt on which side their sympathies were!" . . .

'Shrewd Pélissier told everybody, people might know with certainty whether the Emperor meant to go to war, and to take the command in person, if Canrobert were put at the head of the Army in Lyons.[10] This, he said, would be his first step, for Louis Napoleon wanted some one to carry out details for him, but who would be at the same time a compliant tool, and never throw any reproaches in his teeth. We shall, therefore, have to keep a look-out for this indication.

'We shall strengthen our fleet greatly, and the Queen's Speech will contain a passage about strict adherence to Treaties. . . .'

Meanwhile the friendly personal relations between the English and French Courts remained unbroken. A letter from the Queen, in answer to that from the Emperor above cited (*supra*, p. 343), announcing the contemplated marriage of Prince Napoleon, brought a letter (20th January) from the Emperor in reply. In this he said, that the Corps Législatif being on the point of opening about the same time as Parliament, he would endeavour to express in his Address all the desire 'I feel to live always on the footing of a good and sincere understanding with the Queen and her Government.'

In the wavering state of the Emperor's mind, it was thought by those about him who were anxious for the maintenance of peace, that a letter from the Queen or Prince recommending

[10] The Duke of Malakoff had no liking for the Italian campaign. It seemed to him the rashest of adventures; for, as he openly said, if the French had the slightest defeat, *ce serait fini de la dynastie*—a remark that, however true, should scarcely have found its way to his lips.

him to insert some pacific declaration in the Address would be of great use. Nay, it was even thought that he would be glad to use it as a golden bridge to retreat from the false position in which he had placed himself. This wish was communicated by Lord Malmesbury to the Queen. The allusion to the Address in the Emperor's letter to Her Majesty furnished a natural opening for approaching the subject. Moreover, the object aimed at was of such vital importance that Her Majesty had no hesitation in complying with the request. The tenor of what was to be said was arranged with Lord Derby and Lord Malmesbury, and Her Majesty wrote as follows, prefacing the letter by friendly allusions to family events, such as had for some years been habitual in her correspondence with the Court of the Tuileries:—

'Windsor Castle, 4th February, 1859.

'Sire and my dear Brother,—Your Majesty will allow me to give you to-day good news of the recovery of our dear daughter, and to renew in writing my thanks for your good wishes, which I could express but imperfectly by telegraph. The details of Victoria's confinement, which we have received from Berlin, show that she must have suffered greatly, and that the doctors despaired from the first of the child's life, which nevertheless soon after his birth was made completely safe, to the great joy of the young mother, the father, their parents, as well as of the two nations, for I am bound to say that the interest taken by the English nation in our daughter is always very great. Mother and son are now, thank God, doing well.

'The marriage of Prince Napoleon has taken place sooner than your Majesty expected when you last wrote, and the prompt return of the young married people to Paris has no doubt been a great satisfaction to the Empress and yourself.[11]

[11] On the 23rd of January, the hand of the Princess was formally demanded

May this marriage realise in every way those gentle affections and that home happiness which your Majesty, like ourselves, so thoroughly appreciates!

'What the feelings are by which England is animated in the interests of the maintenance of peace, your Majesty will by this time have seen in the language of all who, since the opening of Parliament, have given free expression to their opinions on the subject. Their profound anxiety on this point is equal to my own.' Rarely has it been given to any man so much as to your Majesty to exercise upon the tranquillity and the happiness of Europe an influence so personal and so potent, and I cannot conceal from myself, how much the great object which we have in view will depend upon the course which you may think yourself called upon to take. Your Majesty has now an opportunity, either by listening to the dictates of humanity and justice, and by showing to the world your intention to adhere strictly to the faithful observance of treaties, of calming the apprehensions of Europe, and of restoring its confidence in the pacific policy of your Majesty, or, on the other hand, by lending an ear to those who have an interest in creating confusion, of involving Europe in a war, whose extent and duration it is scarcely possible to foresee, and which, whatever glory it may add to the arms of France, cannot but interfere materially with her internal prosperity and financial credit. I am satisfied your Majesty will not doubt the sincerity of the friendship which alone induces me to write thus unreservedly to your Majesty; and if anything could add to the sorrow with which I should view the renewal of war in Europe, it would be to see your Majesty entering upon a course, with which it would be impossible for England to associate herself.

'These feelings I know have always been shared by your

in marriage. On the 30th the marriage was celebrated. On the 3rd of February the Prince Napoleon and his bride came to Paris.

Majesty, and of this your last letter of the 20th gives me a fresh and very satisfactory proof.

'I beg your Majesty to recall me to the gracious remembrance of the Empress, and to receive the kind regards of the Prince, as well as the assurance of the sincere friendship with which I am, Sire and dear Brother, your Majesty's very affectionate sister and friend,

'VICTORIA R.'

This letter drew from the Emperor the following elaborate answer:—

'Madam and very dear Sister,—Your Majesty was right in thinking, that the Empress and myself would feel a deep interest in the happy event which has recently filled your mother's heart with joy. It was only later that we learned the danger run by the Princess Frederick William, and with your Majesty we rejoice that you are now fully reassured as to the health of the Princess and her son.

'It is always with gratitude that I receive the counsels which your Majesty is pleased to give me, for I appreciate the noble and friendly sentiments from which they spring, but I would at the same time ask permission to tell you frankly what the state of matters is. The story of what has been going on for the last six or eight months is not a little curious.

'In the course of last summer I received from Italy, and particularly from Sardinia, confidential communications, which told me, that the disquietude of Italy was such as could not fail ere long to lead to insurrections. These were only prevented from breaking out by the counsels of Piedmont; nevertheless the Sardinian Government intimated to me that it would be difficult long to maintain this state of things, without holding out to the just complaints which reached it a hope of early redress; that the position was one of so much tension,

that Piedmont would not draw back, even if it saw the way to do so, from a war with Austria. I replied that I had always felt warmly for Italy, but that my first duty was to my country and to its interests; that the traditional policy of France had always been opposed to the exclusive influence of Austria in Italy; that nevertheless my Government could not encourage an aggressive line of conduct on the part of Piedmont, nor support her in a struggle in which right would not be upon her side, but that, on the other hand, she might rely upon being vigorously backed, either if attacked by Austria, or if she became involved with this Power in a just and lawful war.

'These *pourparlers* came to nothing (*n'eurent pas d'autres suites*); but towards November last, either because the unpopular measures taken by Austria in Italy had roused men's minds, or because indiscreet language had been held at Turin, or, finally, because a certain party had found its interest in disquieting public opinion, certain it is that all at once rumours of war were spread on every side, founded both upon the condition of people's minds in Italy and upon the state of our relations with Austria. In the hope of calming these apprehensions I caused it to be announced in the *Moniteur* that there was nothing in our relations with foreign Powers to justify such fears. Notwithstanding this, as if under the influence of a real panic, everything continued to be construed in a warlike sense. The conciliatory words to M. Hübner, the despatch to Marseilles of six batteries (without men or horses) destined for Algeria, the construction, as an experiment, of ten gunboats, carrying each one gun, the armament of two troop-ships for the Algerine service, the purchase of some thousands of artillery-horses to bring their number up to the peace footing—finally, the progress made with the reconstruction of our artillery equipment begun two years before—these were what were taken as so many warlike symptoms;

and, *although there was in fact nothing more*, the persuasion to the contrary is so general, that it would be difficult for me to persuade the public in France and abroad, that I am not even now making immense preparations for war. And yet at this very time simple prudence seems to me to enjoin that I should do much more; for on the one side I cannot blind myself to the ill-will that surrounds me, and on the other, for the last month I have been urgently appealed to by the King of Sardinia to mass 20,000 men upon the Alps, ready to come to his assistance, in case of his being attacked by the Austrians.

'I am, therefore, in no way responsible either for the apprehensions or for the agitation now on foot, and I can regard them with indifference. But what wounds me deeply as a man and as a sovereign is to see that a mere rumour of war, vague and undefined, is sufficient to raise doubts of my moderation, and to draw upon me the charge of ambition; and consequently, that with complications beyond the Alps staring us in the face, people seem to deny to France by anticipation the influence to which she is entitled by her rank among nations, as well as by her history. In presence of an imaginary intervention in the affairs of a country which touches our frontiers, all Germany seems of a mind to enter into a league against France, and to dispute even her most legitimate action. Did Germany intervene in our embroilment with Russia? Or did Europe intervene when Germany upheld the cause of Holstein against Denmark?

'I admit to your Majesty that this attitude of Germany sets me thinking deeply, and that I see in it great danger for the future, for I shall always respect the Treaties. I know that they cannot be changed except by general assent; but respect for treaties does not run counter to my duty, which is to follow always the policy that is most in harmony with the honour and the interests of my country.

'Nevertheless, I hope that the alliance with your Majesty will always be maintained. Two great countries may remain friends, although their interest in all questions may not be identical, provided the action of each shall have been settled by a preliminary understanding, in accordance with the dictates of its political interests.

'Your Majesty will, I hope, forgive me this long letter. But I felt bound to lay all my thoughts before you, and you will see in it a fresh proof of my desire to find myself in accord with your Majesty, and of the great value I attach to your opinion and advice.

'I beg you to recall me to the remembrance of the Prince, and to believe in the sentiments of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am

'Your Majesty's good brother and friend,

'NAPOLEON.'

'Palace of the Tuileries, 14th February, 1859.'

When the Prince read this letter, his thoughts might naturally have reverted to an observation made by the Emperor to the Queen during her visit to Paris—'*Louis-Philippe n'est pas tombé à cause de son alliance avec l'Angleterre, mais parce qu'il n'était pas sincère avec l'Angleterre*' (*ante*, vol. iii. p. 332). That the Emperor was sincere in wishing for a close and cordial alliance with England was scarcely open to doubt. He had proved it by his acts; and his interests, no less than his personal feelings, were a guarantee for his sincerity in this direction. But could the Prince feel equally assured of that higher sincerity, which would justify him in believing that there were no reserves, no misleading suggestions in the Emperor's language to the Queen? The Prince knew too much even now of the arrangements secretly concluded with Sardinia, as well as of what was being done in France to prepare for war, to accept without reservation the colouring given to both in the Emperor's letter. He had,

moreover, read the Emperor's character too thoroughly in the unreserved discussions which had passed between them, not to see that he was now entirely dominated by his dream of a readjustment of the distribution of European States, and that he was concealing his plans from one by whom, he knew, they were regarded as no less dangerous to himself and his dynasty, than to the peace of Europe, and the happiness of the myriads to whom war means suffering and misery and death. To be sincere in such circumstances was impossible; but without sincerity, absolute sincerity in word and in act, no man, and especially no sovereign, could ever hope to command the esteem or confidence of the Prince Consort.

CHAPTER XCI.

ALTHOUGH the public attention was chiefly taken up with the precarious aspect of affairs abroad, it had been led to expect that the question of Parliamentary Reform would occupy a prominent place in the Ministerial programme. Mr. Bright, after a silence of nearly two years, caused by severe illness, had in October signalised his first appearance before his constituents at Birmingham by a speech in which he had urged the necessity of sweeping changes in the electoral system with a vehemence which had startled even advanced Liberals, and alarmed those who were fearful of letting the question pass into the hands of democratic agitators. The country generally was lukewarm on the subject; but the time for some enlargement of the measure of 1831 had manifestly come, and no Ministry could hope to avoid dealing with it.

Whatever measure Lord Derby's Ministry might propose was sure to be challenged by Lord John Russell and others, who looked upon themselves as having a sort of exclusive right to guide the public mind upon the question, and who would not fail to cast discredit upon it by impugning the sincerity of a party whose Conservatism, it was their habit to allege, consisted among other things in antagonism to any widening of the electoral area. On the other hand, a broad and comprehensive scheme of Reform, if brought forward by the Government, would alienate the more nervous of their own supporters. It was on this side, indeed, that their greatest danger lay; and from this side it came. Even before their measure was

introduced, a blow was struck at any possible success which it might have achieved by the secession of Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley, two of the most respected members of the Ministry, on the ground that the contemplated measure went further than they considered to be either safe, or compatible with the principles of their party.[1] Opinion, as the event showed, was still far from being matured as to the shape which the reforms should take, that yet were felt to be needed; but such was the state of parties, that the fall of the Ministry, had they failed to attempt a solution of the problem, was quite as certain as if they failed to grapple with it successfully.

On the 3rd of February Parliament was opened by the Queen in person. The Prince records the reception given to Her Majesty as having been most cordial, and, in the excited state of the public mind at the moment, it was naturally more demonstrative than usual. The Queen's Speech intimated the intention of the Government to introduce a Reform Bill. But the passages which created the greatest interest were—one in which a temporary increase of expenditure was recommended for the application of steam-power to the Navy, on which it was observed at the time that the Queen dwelt with marked expression,[2] and another in which Her Majesty announced that she continued to receive from all foreign Powers assurances of their friendly feelings. 'To cultivate and confirm these feelings,' Her Majesty added, 'to maintain inviolate the faith of public treaties, and to contribute, so far as my influence can extend, to the preservation of the general peace, are the objects of my unceasing solicitude.'

[1] 'It was one,' said Mr. Walpole, speaking in the House of Commons (1st March, 1859), 'which we would all of us have stoutly opposed, if either Lord Palmerston or Lord John Russell had brought it forward.'

[2] No more than one million extra was asked for under this head. But this went far to repair the shortcomings in our fleet, which, as we have shown, had for some time caused serious anxiety to the Queen and Prince.

It has been shown that these words from Her Majesty's lips had upon this occasion a peculiar significance, neither were they without a marked effect in the quarter to which all knew them to be pointed. 'I think,' Her Majesty had written the day before to King Leopold, 'that the speech will do good, but it has not been easy to frame it, as the feeling here against the Emperor is very strong. I think *yet*, that if Austria is strong and well prepared, and Germany strong and well inclined towards us,—as Prussia certainly is—France will not be so eager to attempt what I firmly believe would end in the Emperor's downfall.'[3]

If the Emperor of the French still entertained any lingering belief in the sympathy of England with his designs in Italy, it must have been dispelled by the discussion in both Houses of Parliament upon the Address. Lord Granville deprecated a war arising out of the Italian question, as 'a great European war, of which no man could possibly see the end.' Had he been one of themselves, he could not have used language fitter to describe the line Ministers had followed than when he said :—

'If Ministers can say, that during the course of these events they have spoken equally to Austria, to Sardinia, and to France in the firm, candid, and friendly manner in which they were entitled to speak, avoiding any unnecessary or irritating menace on the one hand, but on the other declaring their steady conviction that the maintenance of existing treaties is necessary to the peace and tranquillity of the future; and if, in addition, they have entered into no engagements whatever, binding this country to take any course at any time other than the honour of England and the welfare of Europe may demand: in that case I am sure Her Majesty's Government will receive the hearty support of the people—a support that will enable them to speak with

[3] What Her Majesty had before her mind, in so writing, was doubtless the apprehension that success in Italy would be the first step to such an attempt on the Rhenish provinces as actually did cause the Emperor's downfall.

greater force and influence in any difficult circumstances that may hereafter arise.'

The language of Lord Palmerston was even more explicit, and, so well known was his wish for the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy, that it carried greater weight. Speaking of the Treaty of Vienna, he said:—

'At all events, right or wrong, that was an arrangement in which the Great Powers of Europe concurred, and they sanctioned it by treaty; and I humbly submit that no Power could violate that treaty by attempting, without reason or cause, to dispossess Austria of what that treaty gave her. Treaties ought to be respected. If any theoretical preference were to set aside the stipulations in any treaty, all the affairs of Europe would be at sea, and it would be impossible to tell the conclusion to which such a principle would lead. . . . The beginning of a war is no light thing. It is easy to begin it; it is impossible to say what will be its limits. War between two such great Powers as Austria and France may begin about the possession of Lombardy, but to say who may be ultimately involved in that contest is beyond the sagacity of man. . . . To commence such a war would be to involve Europe in calamities which it would be difficult to describe, for a cause which, however in the abstract desirable, would by no means justify such a war.'

These weighty words, which were echoed by Lord John Russell, produced a visible effect at the Tuileries. The absence of all enthusiasm, or even interest, shown in Paris about Prince Napoleon and his bride on their arrival on the same day (3rd of February) from Turin, had made it clear beyond a doubt, that the alliance was a matter of indifference to the Parisians, and was not likely to make them forego any of the dislike to war in the interests of Piedmont, which they in common with the rest of the country had been loud in expressing. The Queen's letter, moreover, had worked upon the impressible nature of the Emperor. Above all, he must have been startled by the distrust of himself shown by his

English Allies, who, with all their avowed detestation of the oppression and misrule of which the Italian States had been so long the victims, were driven by this distrust into becoming openly averse to any interference with Austrian rule in Italy. It was obviously necessary to temporise with the prevailing feeling, and to wait for some more favourable moment for fulfilling the pledge of active assistance, to which the King of Sardinia and Cavour held the Emperor bound.

On the 7th of February the French Chambers were opened by the Emperor in person. In a lengthened Speech he sought to allay the 'vague anxiety,' the 'distrust and the alarm,' which, he said, had 'possessed themselves of certain minds, and shaken public confidence.' Again he renewed the Bordeaux declaration, that 'the Empire was peace,' and protested that the system of peace, which he had inaugurated, 'could not be disturbed, except for the defence of great national interests.' Avowing that the state of Italy, where order could not be maintained except by foreign troops, had justly disquieted diplomacy, he urged, that this 'was not a sufficient motive for believing in war. Away, then,' he concluded, 'with these false alarms, these unjust suspicions, these interested apprehensions! Peace, I hope, will not be disturbed.'

The commentary made by the Prince in his Diary on reading this Address was brief but full of meaning. 'The Emperor Napoleon has opened his Chambers with a Speech, which can in no way set either Europe or France at rest. It is meant to look peaceful.' The fact remained that, however peaceful it looked, the Piedmontese Government had only two days before given notice of their intention to contract a loan of fifty millions of francs, and that the military preparations of France were now being pushed on more vigorously than ever.

The Prince's distrust was rapidly confirmed. Within less

than a week from the time the Emperor had spoken, a letter was addressed by the French Minister of the Interior to the Préfets of the Departments, directing them to recommend the country, through the press, to follow the Emperor blindly into any war he might undertake. Moreover, within a day or two after a copy of this letter reached the English Foreign Office, information was received from our Ambassador at Turin, that Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, the French Minister at that Court, had gone to Paris, finding that he received one set of instructions from the Emperor all pointing to war, and another of an exactly opposite character from Count Walewski, the Minister of Foreign Affairs.[4] Count Walewski, it is now well known, was as much in the dark as to his master's engagements to Piedmont as the rest of the world. He had all along been hostile to the idea of a war, and now, regarding the Emperor's Address as a new point of departure, he had been urging peace at Turin, where the Emperor's language had already created indignation, and alarm that he was about to leave his Allies there to fight out their dispute with Austria alone. When the Emperor's Speech reached them, instant pressure was put upon him, both by the King of Sardinia and by Count Cavour; and it had a visible effect in modifying the pacific views which had seemed to be uppermost with him since the arrival of the Queen's letter. 'I fear,' Lord Cowley wrote (19th of February) to Lord Malmesbury, 'that there is an undercurrent at work of which Walewski is not aware; Russia and Sardinia, I cannot help thinking, urging the Emperor on, telling him that it is all very well, but that he has nothing to fear either from England or Germany; and that, provided he confines his operations to Italy, *qu'on le laissera faire.*'

[4] When the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne returned to Turin from Paris, he said to a friend, '*Non-seulement nous prendrons la première occasion à faire la guerre, mais nous chercherons un prétexte.*'—*Sir James Hudson to Lord Malmesbury*, 28th of February, 1859.

What was the nature of this undercurrent, was not long left to surmise, for within a few days a letter from the King of Sardinia to the Emperor found its way from the Court circle of Turin into the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which could leave no doubt as to the existence of a promise by the French Emperor to give armed support to Piedmont. In this letter the King said that, if for reasons of internal policy, France should now abandon the cause of Italy, such a desertion would be a thousand times more mischievous for Sardinia than the loss of the battle of Novara.

'In the face of such an event,' the King added, 'which I look upon as impossible, nothing would be left me but to follow the example of my father, King Charles Albert, and to lay down a crown which I could no longer wear with honour to myself or with safety for my people. Constrained to renounce the throne of my ancestors, what I owe to myself, to the renown of my race, and to the welfare of my country, would impose upon me the duty of letting the world know the reasons which had driven me to make so deplorable a sacrifice.'

After the direct advances which had been made to Prussia by France, with the view of inducing her to hold aloof from Austria in any eventuality, the Prince Regent could entertain no doubt as to the real intentions of the Emperor of the French. Naturally anxious to know what part England would take in the event of the war assuming wider proportions, he despatched Count Perponcher to London to open communications with the English Government. At the same time he wrote to the Prince Consort, fully explaining the view of the situation taken by himself, and asking for his advice. This advice, he said, would 'be decisive for us,'—words which mark conclusively the value which had by this time come to be set upon the Prince's judgment among the statesmen of Europe.[5]

[5] 'It is said,' M. de Mazade writes (*Vie du Comte de Cavour*, p. 223), 'that during the interview at Plombières, the Emperor, then under the illusion of

'Events,' the Prince Regent wrote, 'have been only too frequent within the last few weeks, which force upon us the question, What political constellation will the proximate future bring us? and how will England and Prussia be placed in it?

'I used to compare the political position of Napoleon with regard to Italy with that of a player at "Zweckmühle," who moves the winning stone to and fro till the time comes to strike the decisive blow. Every day shows more and more the aptness of the simile. The necessity for this decisive blow (viz. his going to war) I always expected would arise when he should see no other means of keeping himself on his throne. I cannot see that this is the case at the present moment. Something else must therefore be the motive power, and I believe it may be shortly expressed by the words, "*La Guerre ou le poignard*," not the French but the Italian poignard. But is this a sufficient motive for a war? Unfortunately the Italian dagger seems to have become an *Idée fixe* with Napoleon. It made him stretch out his feelers, and try where to find allies upon whom he could count. He appears to have drawn them quickly back when he found there were no sympathies anywhere with a proceeding, for which none of the Cabinets, calm, prudent, and unmoved by passion as they are, could see a reason. What seems to have surprised him most is, that in England there should not —at least for the present—be any sympathies for this kind of support to be given to the Italians. I believe that the saying will again prove true of him: "*Il recule bien pour le moment, mais il n'abandonne jamais!*" And this shows us the position we ought to take,—"to be vigilant and to come to an understanding with one another."

his own omnipotence, said to Cavour,—"Do you know, there are but three men in Europe, we two, and a third, whom I will not name?" 'Who was this third person? He has remained unknown.' May not the Prince Consort have been in the Emperor's mind? All we know of his estimate of the Prince points in this direction.

'This understanding must first and foremost be directed towards removing any cause for war, and therefore to exhort to peace. We are, moreover, moved to take this course by the decision of the last Treaty of Paris.

'The pretext for a war in Italy is to be the form of government of the different States. But the true cause is Sardinia's desire for aggrandisement. And Governments, which are not concerned with the matter, are asked to take part in it. Where is the statute of international law to be found, that teaches us to wage war against a State, because we do not like its form of government? Or are we compelled to aid the unjustifiable desire for aggrandisement of one State at the cost of another?

'There is also another reason which will drive Napoleon into war, viz. his opinion that a Napoléonide *must* break through the Treaties of 1815, whenever an opportunity for doing so arises. To this there is a simple answer, that all the other Governments are called upon to ensure the maintenance of these Treaties. If France be perfectly convinced of this, she will think twice before going to war.

'But, on the other hand, Austria must also be exhorted to desist from taking any provoking steps in Italy. "Whoever provokes wantonly will not easily find allies!" This is a standing phrase of mine with foreign diplomatists here; it expresses my firm conviction.

'Now the question arises for Prussia: What is she to do if France assists Italy in a conflict with Austria? Public opinion has for the last four weeks expressed itself throughout Germany in such a decided manner against France in case of such an emergency, that one cannot shut one's eyes to the fact. And herewith Prussia's line of action would seem to be clearly marked out; for the wars of the Revolution have shown us that, should the French arms be victorious, they would soon be turned against Germany and Prussia, if they

had remained neutral and had quietly looked on at all the disasters of Austria.

'But what would be our position, if England should declare in favour of France and thereby of Italy in such a war? And further, what are we to do, if Russia should threaten to join such an Anglo-French alliance? Would not such an alliance force a neutrality (though an armed one) upon Germany and Prussia?

'On the other hand, suppose that England and Russia should remain neutral, and Austria be victorious against the Franco-Italian alliance, while Germany and therefore Prussia remained idle spectators,—what would be the position of Prussia?

'How are we to escape the dangers of such alternatives? This question I put to you. I most anxiously await your answer, for it will be decisive for us.'

This letter was sent as a matter of course to Lord Malmesbury, and by him to Lord Derby. With their approval it was answered by the Prince, who, it will be seen, while carefully referring the Prince Regent to the Government for the only practical answer to his questions, took the opportunity to enforce upon his correspondent the importance of trusting, not to arrangements with other Powers, but to a frank and cordial understanding and sympathy with his own people:—

'Windsor Castle, 7th February, 1859.

'My dear Cousin,—You have given us the greatest pleasure by sending Count Perponcher here. He has been able to tell us a great deal about Berlin, and to observe and learn not a little here, for his visit has fallen at a critical moment in the political world. I owe you thanks especially for your kind and confidential lines, and I catch eagerly at your motto, "Vigilance and a mutual understanding."

'The views which you express as to the course of the recent complications, and as to the projects and character of the Emperor Napoleon, I regard as so thoroughly sound and true, that I subscribe to every word of them, and am delighted to see how we have arrived at the same results from two different points of view.

'In asking for my views as to the steps to be taken in certain eventualities, and adding that my answer will decide your action, you impose a very heavy task upon me as well as a terrible responsibility. Nevertheless, this shall not deter me from letting you read my thoughts, begging you, however, to regard them as purely personal to myself. The Ministry will clothe theirs in their own language, and what they think can only be expressed through their own organs.

'When Frederick the Great asked old Ziethen what was to be done under certain circumstances, Ziethen scratched his head, and after thinking for a while, answered his master: "Set me face to face with the enemy, and I will tell you." Well, although I cannot pretend to compare myself to the old hero, I feel just as he did the difficulty of coming to a decision about mere eventualities! For these eventualities scarcely ever arise, precisely in the way calculated on, and even when they do arise, there is generally something to control the judgment in the "How" and "When," so that the same eventuality does not necessarily lead up to the same conclusion. The prudent statesman will, therefore, find his strength in coming to a decision upon no more than one step, and that the one which the immediate occasion demands, waiting to see the effect produced, for his guidance in deciding what step to take next.

'Looking from the Prussian and European point of view, you seem to me to have hitherto done the right thing. You have warned France courteously, and Austria also, not to offer provocation, and rested the policy of Prussia upon the

ground of existing Treaties. England has met you on the same ground, and our language is the same to the letter, our accord perfect.

'A short time ago all sorts of different opinions existed here, but time and public discussion have created an entire unanimity in the popular mind, under the influence of which Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell felt they had no alternative but to become the echo of Lord Derby. Had you fourteen days back asked me the opinion of England, I could not have answered you in the decisive terms which the Queen's Speech and the Parliamentary discussion upon it now enable me to do. Now I can say, that I regard the contingency which you put, that England might go with France, as one that is no longer possible, not even although Austria were to commit the grossest blunders, which there is absolutely no security she will not do. In that case, however, the position of Prussia and Germany would not be so unlike our own, for even Prussia would not, from merely political considerations, draw the sword on the side of wrong.'

'What I have just indicated proves, however, wherein the real strength and security of governments in these days lie, namely, in public opinion formed and enlightened by free discussion. In that is to be sought the guiding star, and also the warrant for the action of governments. That her language shall be loud and firm is the one main essential for Prussia's safety and strength. My advice to you would therefore be, Call this power into play; this it is, which will keep France and Russia in check, unite Germany, and place the ultimate decision in your hands. Free discussion in the press upon Napoleon's designs, accord in feeling by reason of this freedom of discussion with Switzerland, Belgium, and England, a courteous waving aside of all demands from Paris that your Government shall be responsible for the press.

It is the public opinion of England that Napoleon dreads; it is the German rising in 1813, which lingers as a warning phantom in the memory of the French. It was the popular voice in 1840 (*Sie sollen ihn nicht haben*, &c.) which then scared France from her Oriental policy; it has, so far as it exists, not been without its effect within the last few weeks, and Napoleon has undoubtedly recoiled before it. While rallying this power to myself, I should continue to use extreme moderation, to negotiate little, to enter into explanations still less, but above all to hold stoutly by the maintenance of existing Treaties, and in Germany to urge the organisation of the Confederate forces, justifying this to France by the uncertainty as to what she may be led into through a conflict with Italy. In the case of war breaking out, I should place the army upon a war footing, and occupy the fortresses, giving at the same time friendly assurances to all the Courts. Even although Austria should be attacked in Italy by France, prudence would dictate that the struggle should not, without absolute necessity, be drawn towards the Rhine. Should Austria prove victorious, then I do not see how Prussia should be thereby forced into the background in Germany.

'Prussia never had any Italian possessions, and has not for the last forty years followed the perverse policy which has brought that country into its present wretched state. By her state of preparation Prussia will have kept France in check, and set a brilliant example by the prompt declaration of her readiness, if the necessity arose, to fulfil her duty as a brother State without flinching. Should Austria come to grief in the campaign, strong as she is in her military position, this can scarcely result in a general *déroute*, and Prussia and Germany—if they felt politically justified in such a step—would always have time to take part in the war with advantage, before France could have so cleared her

hands of the Austrians that she could launch all her force against Germany.

'To any Russian demonstration it would be well to oppose a *Corps* of Observation. In France they count on availing themselves of a possible sudden intervention in respect to Schleswig, to engage the Danish and Swedish fleet in the possible war against Prussia, which in connection with that of Russia would be a serious menace to the Prussian coast. I tell you this, because I know it for certain.

'To come back to England. What she will do, I cannot tell. For the moment the wish is general, to keep out of a contest about Austria in Italy. Should this contest spread, then it will bring into play new interests, and new feelings, and these will have a determining influence upon any ulterior decision. That she can keep permanently out of the struggle, no statesman of experience believes.'

Two days after this letter was written (9th February) the Prince visited Wellington College, which had been opened by the Queen on the 29th of January. He had all along taken a most active interest in the establishment of the College: not only did he expend great pains in the selection of the site, and in watching over the construction and arrangements of the building, but he also gave much thought and study to the framing of the rules for the future management of the Institution. He now still further testified his interest in this memorial of 'the good Duke,' by presenting a library for the use of the boys, selected by himself, and which formed the nucleus of the excellent library now belonging to the College.

Some time before the Prince had done a similar service for Aldershot, where he built at his own expense a library for the officers' use, and enriched it with a collection, as complete as he could make it, of every work of value on military history

or science. Besides presenting to this library his own very extensive collection of works of this class, no labour or expense was spared in obtaining from abroad whatever was required to make the collection complete. Many thousands of pounds were spent by the Prince out of his limited income on this object, which he had very much at heart, foreseeing, what the campaigns of 1866 and 1870 were to prove, that military science would be a chief, if not decisive agent, in any future European war. Since his death the Queen has not only provided from her Privy Purse for the efficient custody and maintenance of the library for daily use, but added to it every new work of importance. It is called 'The Prince Consort's Library,' and is an immense boon to all officers who choose to make a study of their profession, containing, as it does, works which, from their size, rarity, or great cost, are beyond the reach of military men.

While thinking of those on whom the responsibility rests of conducting military operations under the difficult conditions of modern warfare, the Queen and Prince were no less mindful of the rank and file of the army. During the Crimean War, they provided at their own cost a very extensive library for the soldiers. At the end of the war, this library was divided. One portion of it was sent to Aldershot, and another to Dublin, as the two great military centres. They are known as the Victoria Soldiers' Libraries, and have, since the Prince's death, been kept up by the Queen in full efficiency. As in the other cases mentioned, the selection of books for these libraries was made by the Prince himself. Their extent may be judged of by the fact, that the catalogue of that in Dublin, printed in 1872, contains close on twelve hundred volumes. Since then considerable additions have been made to both.

How much time and labour were devoted to useful objects of this kind, of which the world knew nothing, it would be difficult to estimate. The days were all too short for the work

he had to put into them. Writing at this time (9th February) to his daughter at Berlin, he glances at the busy life, which had made the nineteen years since his marriage pass with seeming swiftness :—

'It was a year yesterday since you made your entry into Berlin, and nineteen years since I made mine into London. I have felt my nineteen years go by not much more slowly than you have felt your one. How will it be, after the next nineteen years? A question without answer, and therefore merely sentimental and totally useless.'

The next day, the anniversary of the Queen's marriage, was celebrated by a great concert in the evening at Windsor Castle in St. George's Hall. To Baron Stockmar, ever present to the Prince's mind on that day, he wrote as follows :—

'Although I have no leisure, *i.e.* no combination of time with rest, still I cannot leave unanswered your welcome letter of the 3rd, which gave me great pleasure, as a sign that you were vigorous both in mind and body.

'I write to you on our marriage day, which has come round for the nineteenth time, and am penetrated at the thought of this by gratitude to a gracious Providence, who has so visibly blessed our union. With this are mingled feelings of thankfulness towards yourself for the unwearying friendship of which you have during this period given me so many weighty proofs in word and deed. If you keep a watchful hand over our child in Berlin, you can give us in the evening of your life no greater proof of your friendship.

'In face of the warlike propensities of the Empire, *qui est la Paix*, the nation as well as Parliament has behaved admirably. The pamphlet *Napoléon et l'Italie*[6] and the

[6] This pamphlet, written by M. de la Guéronnière, and revised by the Emperor, appeared on the 1st of February. Its whole scope and purpose were

Imperial Speech from the throne form together a pair of remarkable documents. In Paris the public seem to be furious at being treated from the very throne with contempt for putting one and two together and getting three as the product; and seeing what care has been taken to avoid all express promises not to break the peace, and to respect existing treaties, they are in no way satisfied with the Speech, neither are they ready to go back to work, as the Speech enjoins them.

'Count Perponcher was instructed to demand clear explanations here as to what England will do in certain eventualities. You know that such explanations are never given here, and will not therefore be surprised that they were not to be had on the present occasion. On the other hand, I have laid the whole state of things here in detail before the Regent so frankly and conscientiously, that he may draw his own conclusions with certainty, not withholding from him at the same time my advice as to the position of Prussia, which is summed up in this: "Be *German*, be *National* (*Volksthümlich*) (in the good and noble sense), and you will be strong, and walk securely."

'All the secret stipulations in the world with this Court or that are not to be compared with the security which is given by a frank understanding and accord with your own people and with public opinion. This, moreover, gives confidence to the public opinion of other countries when it is in unison with your own, and inspires awe when it is at variance with it.

'The Prince of Wales seems to be happy in Rome.'

On the 13th of February, Lord Derby laid before the Queen the Government scheme of Reform, coupling it with the announcement that Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley wished

to justify the war on Austria in Italy, and to prepare the minds of the French public for it.

to resign. Their resignations were accepted, not without regret, as in the present critical posture of affairs abroad a Ministerial crisis was most undesirable.

Next day the Court moved from Windsor to London. On the 16th the Prince writes to his daughter at Berlin :—

'We are now established in town, and the first place I went to yesterday was the South Kensington Museum, where two additional galleries have been built of two hundred to three hundred feet in length, and twice the breadth of the *Sheepshanks Gallery*, for the reception of the Vernon and Turner galleries from Marlborough House, which latter becomes Bertie's property in November. The pictures will be excellently seen, and the whole gallery has been built in six weeks for 3,000*l.*, of brick, with fire-proof floors. Mr. Cole is still in Italy.

'The Society of Arts has projected an Exhibition like that of 1851 for the year 1861, but now it comes to me and to the Commission to carry it out, which is quite another matter. We shall discuss the subject on Saturday at the Commission, where it is sure to give rise to no small amount of tiresome "pros and cons."'

Overwhelmed as he was with business of all kinds, the Prince might well hesitate about again embarking in the preparation of another Great Exhibition.

CHAPTER XCII.

When the Emperor of the French wrote to the Queen his letter of the 14th of February, the universal unpopularity throughout France of a war in Italy seems to have for the time shaken his resolution. At all events this was the impression which he conveyed to Lord Cowley. Count Walewski confidently declared his conviction that the crisis was now over, and announced his master's readiness to accept the good offices of England in endeavouring to negotiate with Austria a basis of arrangement. This negotiation the Emperor wished to be entrusted to Lord Cowley, 'as the most likely mode of arriving at a good result;' and he put in writing under his own hand the heads of such an arrangement as he was prepared to accept.

The prospects of a negotiation of this kind were not, it is true, very hopeful; but it was felt by the English Cabinet that no effort should be spared to maintain peace, and, as the suggestion came from the Emperor himself, they were the more disposed to fall in with it. Accordingly, Lord Cowley came over to London at once (19th February), to arrange with the Government here the line of action to be taken. 'The great point for us to keep in mind,' the Prince wrote to Lord Malmesbury (18th February), 'must be not to assume the position of mediators without being sure that we are accepted as such by both parties.' Communications from Vienna soon set this point at rest, and Lord Cowley proceeded thither, bearing with him, as his credentials, an autograph letter of

the Queen to the Emperor of Austria, of which we translate the material passages:—

'You will have seen, Sire,' Her Majesty wrote, 'both from the principles to which I have given expression in my Speech at the opening of Parliament, and by the attitude of Parliament itself, what are the sentiments which animate the country and my Government. These sentiments have undergone no change. They impose upon me the duty of neglecting no effort for the maintenance of the general peace. I have anxiously weighed the circumstances by which it seems to be menaced, and I find in them nothing which ought not to be surmounted by diplomatic wisdom, if only the principal parties concerned shall be animated by the mutual desire to give it free and fair scope. The state of Italy is what really constitutes the danger by which we are threatened; but even this danger would not be such as to imperil the general tranquillity, but for the existence of an antagonism excited by the engagements, real or supposed, of Austria and of France.

'For my part I am convinced, that this supposed divergence of interests and engagements is capable of being reconciled, if the inquiry be entered upon frankly, and with the intention to avoid the calamities of war. I quite understand that, in a certain delicate posture of affairs, it is difficult for Great Powers to take an initiative which might be construed as a weakness or a concession. It has in these circumstances seemed to me that I, as the mutual friend of the two Sovereigns, and having, as I have, no personal interest, might tender my good offices, and, perhaps, find in this way certain bases on which the parties interested might open amicable negotiations relative to the questions which threaten serious results.

'On examining these questions with the liveliest desire to use for the general interest whatever influence I may possess,

I have thought that my Ambassador at Paris, who is thoroughly acquainted with the views of the Court where he represents me, and in whom I have entire confidence, might be usefully charged with a mission purely confidential, and to which nothing of an official character is attached. This mission would have for its object to discover, whether it is possible to offer suggestions which might be mutually acceptable as the basis of ulterior arrangements, and be thereafter presented simultaneously to both parties as expressing the ideas of a common friend.'

Such was the position of affairs, when the Prince wrote the following letter (22nd of February) to Baron Stockmar:—

'. . . In politics the aspect of affairs is still very troubled. The wrath of the Emperor Napoleon is now directed against Germany; and he cannot comprehend how it ventures to have an opinion on the Italian question, and to take up a position hostile to his policy. "*Cela me fait profondément réfléchir*, viz. *cette attitude de l'Allemagne, et j'y vois pour l'avenir de grands dangers*," he writes to the Queen, "*car je respecterai toujours les traités. Je sens qu'ils ne peuvent être changés que d'un commun accord, mais le respect des traités n'est pas en opposition avec mon devoir, qui est de suivre toujours la politique la plus conforme à l'honneur et aux intérêts de mon pays.*"[1] It is not on words like these that the funds will rise. He sees in the feeling of the Germans not that of a nation, but the effect of a coalition of Princes, whom he would never have given credit for so much ill-will. That Uncle Leopold is at the head of the combination, and that Ernest and I are active participators in it, is a conviction to which he does not permit himself to give open expression. For the moment

[1] These are the words of the Emperor of the French in his letter to the Queen (*supra*, p. 370).

I believe war has been averted. In France the public feeling against it is shown as strongly as in Germany or here.

'As we stand well at this moment, and our attitude contributes materially to the maintenance of peace, Lord Palmerston and Lord John have chosen the time to bring on an Italian Debate, which comes off on Friday; and, before the voting of the Navy estimates, they are to "call" for a declaration of the policy of Her Majesty's Government. This may entirely ruin our position, for in the unspoken word lies our strength! Lord Palmerston has been pushed forward in the business by Lord John, who threatened to make the motion himself if the other declined.

'On the 28th, the Reform Bill will come on. In India the war is now coming to an end.

'Lord Cowley is here, and in all probability will go to Vienna with the view of coming to an explicit understanding with the Emperor and Count Buol. Out of this a diplomatic possibility may perhaps spring, by way of contribution to the Italian struggle.'

The apprehensions here expressed by the Prince as to the Italian debate proved unfounded. The traditional courtesy, which refrains from embarrassing Ministers by importunate inquiries at critical junctures, where Foreign Policy is in question,—a courtesy without which the protection of the national interests must become impossible,—was too sacred to Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell for either of them to violate it. Neither pressed the Government unduly. Indeed, they both spoke strongly in the interests of peace, and in terms calculated to strengthen the hands of the Ministry in their efforts to conciliate Austria and France, and at the same time to effect a redress of the grievances which weighed most heavily on the Italian States. In replying to Lord Palmerston Mr. Disraeli was able to announce, that the Government

had received communications which gave them reason to believe, that before long the Roman States would be evacuated by both the French and Austrian troops, and that, too, with the concurrence of the Papal Government. Under these circumstances, he added, 'Lord Cowley has repaired to Vienna in a confidential capacity, a mission of peace and conciliation.' With this assurance the House was satisfied, and assented cordially to the request, that the discussion might not be continued. This was made to them by Mr. Disraeli on grounds which, in similar circumstances, should never be forgotten:—

'Sir, the proceedings and debates of this House are nicely scanned in foreign countries. Expressions used in our freedom of discussion are very often subjected to interpretations which the speakers themselves never contemplated. It is impossible to say what might be the effect at this moment of a heated debate or an indiscreet phrase.'

Eager as many must have been to speak out what was strongly felt throughout the country as to those whose ambition had filled Europe with alarm, and paralysed her industries for the time, not a word was said by any one after this appeal, except by Lord John Russell, and by him only to express his conviction, that the interests of Italy would be better served by negotiation than by war.

Three nights afterwards (28th of February) Mr. Disraeli developed to a very crowded house the scheme of his Reform Bill. The secret as to its terms had been so well kept, that his statement was listened to with unusual eagerness and interest. The note of opposition was at once sounded by Lord John Russell, Mr. Roebuck, and Mr. Bright. Silence was, however, maintained by Lord Palmerston and his followers, and the general feeling of the House seemed to be in favour of the measure. This feeling was somewhat shaken by the speeches of Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley the following

evening, in which they explained their reasons for quitting the Cabinet. Their avowal that the measure was too liberal for them in some respects, and not liberal enough in others, was typical of the prevailing state of mind both in the House and in the country, which, as the Prince notes in a private memorandum, dated the 6th of March, 'wanted in fact no reform, but a Bill to stop the question of reform.'

Had any sincere desire existed generally for a settlement of the question, the measure might have been moulded into form. But the advanced Reformers preferred the postponement of the question to such moderate changes as could alone have been carried, and there was a large section of the House on both sides, who wished it indefinitely postponed for various other reasons. The opening thus afforded for a movement adverse to the Ministry was seized by Lord John Russell, who, on the 10th of March, gave notice of his intention to move, on the motion for the second reading of the Bill, an amendment by way of resolution, which was skilfully framed to unite the Liberal party against the Bill, without pledging them to any embarrassing declaration as to the measure of Reform which they were themselves prepared to adopt.

Before the discussion, which was appointed for the 21st of March, came on, the Italian question had passed through several phases. The Prussian Government, averse to remaining passive, yet alive to the danger of promising active support to Austria, continued to appeal for advice to England and to the Prince. Replying to a distinguished member of the Royal family, the Prince (1st of March) again urged his opinion that Prussia must maintain a waiting attitude, if she would not expose herself and Europe to great danger. For, he said, 'people in Vienna might very easily be led on to a course of most dangerous obstinacy by the very circumstance of their being certain that Germany and Prussia would draw upon themselves the assault of France.' At the same time

he considered, that Prussia should speak out through Constitutional channels, with a voice of warning to both Austria and France.

'Your position,' he wrote in the letter just quoted, 'is not so bad as it looks, for you have most powerful resources at your command. For what purpose do your Chambers exist? Why do not Hohenzollern or Schleinitz get up and announce to Prussia, Germany, and Europe, in a well-considered, but bold public speech, that Prussia is ready to discharge her fraternal duty, ready to throw her weight into the scale for the maintenance of peace, ready to defend Austria as a brother, if unjustly attacked; but not ready to provoke France, to involve Germany in war, except with the clearest right and overwhelming reasons on her side, or to mislead Austria, while clamouring for help from Germany, into resisting reasonable demands in Italy; that she is bent on putting Germany into an efficient state of defence, but is compelled to remind Austria that Germany owes her no duty in respect of Italy, but that Austria owes Federal duties to Germany; that Austria's army corps must be ready to advance to the Rhine, before there can be any talk of a declaration of war by Germany against France; that every right has its corresponding duty, and every duty its corresponding right; that help in Italy would be a pure act of friendship and magnanimity on the part of Germany, in return for which Austria must also concede to Germany an influence upon her Italian policy, inasmuch as Germany cannot pledge her possible existence, whilst leaving to Austria entire freedom of action as to the stake. . . .

'In this way,' the Prince continued, 'Prussia, however she may be compelled to act, will ensure the support of Europe, and cannot be found fault with even in Germany, while as regards France she will be justified as having only

taken precautionary measures against the contingency of war. In the importance attached in Paris to a speech of Lord Palmerston or Lord John Russell, I can see the weight which such a Parliamentary declaration must have, for it appeals not merely to the Cabinet, but to every thinking man of every nation. If we may assume that the speeches of those English statesmen have contributed to the maintenance of peace, we are justified in looking for the same results from similar action in Prussia.'

In this advice the qualities of the Prince's mind are conspicuously shown—his courage, his frankness in dealing with all political questions, his conviction that the strength of a government lies in carrying its people with it by plain speaking in the National Council. It was only by such public declarations as he suggested, that the French Emperor could be disabused of the mistaken and dangerous idea (*supra*, p. 393) that the feeling of suspicion against France, which was now so rife in Germany, was not that of the nation, but of a coalition of princes. The Prince's advice was not thrown away, for a few days afterwards Baron Schleinitz made a speech in the Prussian Chamber, which was received with enthusiasm, in which the foreign policy of the Government was announced to be such as the Prince had indicated.

The Prince glances at the subject in a letter to Baron Stockmar a few days afterwards:—

'We are pretty well, but fearfully overworked. Events at home and abroad demand our constant attention, and the separation from three of our children has greatly increased the family correspondence. From Rome and Alexandria we have just had good news and the same from Berlin.

'In the face of Austria's impetuous longing to see Germany pronounce in her favour, and of the overflowing enthusiasm in the same direction on the side of the German

people, the waiting, purely German attitude will be a great trial to Prussia. And yet a premature declaration is certainly to be avoided in the interests of Germany and of Austria herself (which might be seduced by it into a war policy).

'Lord Cowley has found in Vienna a fairer and more conciliatory spirit, and more readiness to do everything on their side which can be honourably demanded, than he dared to hope. The Pope has already entered upon our proposals, and the Emperor Napoleon has received a decided check through his Senate. The famous article in the *Moniteur*, the first really peaceful one, is the result of this. We are still very far from having got over the danger, but the prospects of peace look better.[2]

'The Reform Bill has been well received by the country upon the whole, but now, of course, begin the Parliamentary difficulties. . . . The truth is, the country only desires a Reform Bill which shall put an end to the agitation for Reform, but it wants none for its own sake. This should lighten the task of the Ministry, but it makes it really more difficult, as it affords a wide opening for factious agitators.'

The Prince then goes on to mention the accomplishment of what had long been desired by the Queen and himself—the introduction of an abridged liturgy for daily use in their private chapels, in lieu of the ordinary service, encumbered as that is with repetitions, and of a length wholly inappropriate for daily use. All the cavil which had been apprehended disappeared before the obvious expediency of a change from a

[2] The Commission of the Senate on the Budget had refused by a majority to authorise the expenditure of further large additional sums for what was, in effect, a war budget, and so 'to engage France in immense sacrifices over and above those which she had already made.' This was followed by an article in the *Moniteur* of a very pacific character, referring at its close to diplomatic negotiations then pending, and saying there was 'no reason to believe that their issue would not be favourable to the consolidation of the public peace.'

service that was unduly long to one in which the words were, as they should be, 'few and well ordered.'

'The much talked of division of the Church Service has at last been introduced by us in our chapels, and has met with no resistance. Every one is satisfied with it. The Archbishop gave his approval and the Bishop of London inaugurated the first short service. The division begins to be introduced into many of the churches in town. . . .'

An event of the deepest interest to the Queen and Prince —the baptism of their first grandchild—was to take place at Berlin on the 5th of March.[3] How gladly would they both have been there! 'Oh, dearest Uncle,' the Queen writes (1st March) to King Leopold, 'it almost breaks my heart not to witness our first grandchild's christening. I don't think I ever felt so bitterly disappointed. And then it is an occasion so gratifying to both nations, and brings them so much together, that it is peculiarly mortifying.' Lord Raglan and Captain (now Lord) de Ros were selected to represent the Queen and Prince on the occasion. They were both well known to the Princess Royal, and she expressed great satisfaction when informed of their coming. On the 9th of March the Prince writes to her:—

'I was certain that the presence of Lord Raglan and Captain de Ros would give you pleasure. Ours will come when they return, and we can put questions to them. My first will be, Has the Princess gone out? and does she begin to enjoy the air, to which alone she can look for regaining strength and health? Or is she in the way to grow weak and watery by being baked like a bit of pastry in hot rooms? My second: Is she grown? I will spare you my others.

'Your description of the Prince's kindness and loving

[3] He was baptized by the names of Friedrich Wilhelm Victor Albert.

sympathy for you makes me very happy. I love him dearly, and respect and value him, and I am glad too, for his sake, that in you and my little grandchild he has found ties of family happiness which cannot fail to give him those domestic tastes, in which alone in the long run life's true contentment is to be found.'

On the 12th, Lord Raglan and Captain de Ros returned from Berlin, bringing with them favourable accounts of the Princess. In writing to her, the Prince again urges attention to health as a primary duty:—

'Osborne, 16th March, 1859.

'Lord Raglan's and Captain de Ros's news of you have given me great pleasure. But I gather from them that you look rather languid and exhausted (*angegriffen*). Some sea air would be the right thing for you; it is what does all newly-made mothers the most good when their "campaign is over." I am, however, delighted to hear you have begun to get into the air. Now pass on as soon as possible to cold washing, shower baths, &c., so as to brace the system again, and to restore elasticity to the nerves and muscles.

'You are now eighteen years old, and you will hold your own against many a buffet in life; still you will encounter many for which you were not prepared and which you would fain have been spared. You must arm yourself against these, like Austria against the chance of war, otherwise you will break down and drop into a sickly state, which would be disastrous to yourself, and inflict a frightful burden upon poor Fritz for life; besides which, it would unfit you for fulfilling all the duties of your station.

In reference to having children, the French proverb says: "*Le premier pour la santé, le second pour la beauté, le troisième gâte tout.*" But England proves that the last part of the saying is not true, and health and beauty, those two

great blessings, are only injured, where the wife does not make zealous use of the intervals to repair the exhaustion, undoubtedly great, of the body, and to strengthen it both for what it has gone and what it has to go through, and where also the intervals are not sufficiently long to leave the body the necessary time to recruit.

'. . . I will get Alice to read to me the article about Freemasons. It is not likely to contain the whole secret. The circumstance which provokes you only into finding fault with the Order, viz., that husbands dare not communicate the secret of it to their wives, is just one of its best features. If *to be able to be silent* is one of the chief virtues of the husband, then the test, which puts him in opposition to that being towards whom he constantly shows the greatest weakness, is the hardest of all, and therefore the most compendious of virtues, and the wife should not only rejoice to see him capable of withstanding such a test, but should take occasion out of it to vie with him in virtue by taming the inborn curiosity which she inherits from her mother Eve. If the subject of the secret, moreover, be nothing more important than an apron, then every chance is given to virtue on both sides, without disturbing the confidence of marriage, which ought to be complete.'

Baron Stockmar, who, the Prince had hoped, would have been able to watch over the convalescence of the Princess, was detained at Coburg by severe illness. 'I am enduring tortures truly diabolic,' he wrote to the Prince on the 11th of March; but, ill as he was, his interest in the career of the Royal children, whose progress he had watched with a fatherly anxiety, as well as in the critical state of Europe, overcame the reluctance to write which was growing rapidly upon him. The mention in the Prince Consort's letter to him of the 10th of February (*supra*, p. 389) of Rome and the

Prince of Wales's visit there had set the old man thinking of the career of his own favourite Prince since the days they had spent together in that city. 'I too,' he writes in the same letter, 'have of late thought much of the circumstance that we were together in Rome twenty years ago, and have frequently called up before my mind's eye the whole period between then and now. We have reason to be content in humble gratitude with the way it has passed.

'I am heartily glad,' he continues, 'that your tidings of the absent ones are satisfactory. Peace in a family is to my mind God's peace, humanly, visibly, and feelingly manifested upon earth. There is, therefore, nothing parents can do which is more fraught with blessing, than to foster and implant this peace as widely as they can.'

Baron Stockmar had never believed in the Emperor of the French's declaration, '*L'Empire, c'est la Paix!*' For, even while allowing to the Emperor all sincerity in making it, the necessities of his position, he felt convinced, would drive him sooner or later to seek tranquillity at home by engaging his army, and with it the national pride, in some war of aggrandisement. He accordingly saw in the present aspect of affairs only the fulfilment of what he had expected.

'Of a truth,' he continued, 'the present phase of politics at home and abroad is of a kind to make all intelligent, reasonable people sick at heart, and one that demands to be grasped with a firm hand, and to be dealt with once and for all. "*L'Empire n'est pas la Paix, ni la Paix l'Empire.*"' A combination of circumstances, of which the Crimean War, and the support given to the Emperor by the English Alliance, were the most material, had, he went on to say, given the Emperor an exaggerated notion of his own power. So long, therefore, as this delusion continued, 'there could be no repose, no security for any single State in Europe.' At the

same time, it was manifest, that the position of Austria in Italy was a false one, and could not be maintained. 'Austria is, in my eyes, but a geographical political necessity of the Treaties of 1814 and 1815. In the changes incident to all human things can this necessity endure for ever? Poor Austria, shut in between France and Russia, her own bigotries, her *hauteur*, her insincerity, and her blundering statesmanship!'

Such being Baron Stockmar's views, he could have had little hopes of any permanent settlement being arrived at from the mission of Lord Cowley to Vienna. The war party at Turin had taken alarm at that mission, and had asked for explanations from the Emperor of the French. 'Don't be uneasy, it will come to nothing!' was his reply.[4] So indignant, however, was the Prince Napoleon at what he regarded as the vacillating policy of the Emperor, and the hostility to war shown by his colleagues in the Imperial Council, that he resigned his office of Minister for Algeria and the Colonies, in right of which he formed one of that Council. What was the Emperor's real determination no one seemed to know. He had got into a position from which he could not extricate himself, without either breaking his promise to the King of Sardinia and to Count Cavour on the one hand, or finding himself, on the other, with the public opinion and all the Powers of Europe arrayed against him.

Lord Cowley came back to London from Vienna on the 14th. Austria was ready to assent to the withdrawal of her troops from the Papal States, to support a system of internal reforms in Italy, to pledge herself not to attack Sardinia, and to negotiate some new arrangement in lieu of her special treaties with the Duchies. More than this was scarcely to have been expected; but when Lord Cowley returned to

[4] '*Ne vous offensez pas—ceci n'aboutira à rien*,' was the remark of the Emperor to M. de Villamarina, the Sardinian Ambassador.

Paris, he found that his negotiations were already in effect superseded by the proposal of a Congress of the European Powers, with a view to the preservation of peace. The proposal ostensibly emanated from St. Petersburg, but it was soon known to have been prompted by a suggestion from the Tuileries. Thus, while Lord Cowley, very much upon the delegation of the Emperor of the French, was negotiating in Vienna, the Emperor was planning a Congress, which, if it did not prevent, would at least postpone a settlement of the question.

On learning this proposal from Lord Malmesbury the Queen wrote to him (18th March): 'We must be careful not to be caught by the idea of a Congress getting Europe out of the present danger. A Congress has always been the alternative to war which the Emperor has put forward; but a Congress "*pour remanier les Traités de* 1815." Russia may intend to act in such a Congress the part against Austria regarding Lombardy, which Austria acted against her in the last Congress regarding Bessarabia. . . . Austria will have enormous armaments to keep up, while the Congress lasts, for otherwise France might suddenly break off and fall upon her simultaneously with a rising of the Italian populations. She will, therefore, be very averse (and justly so) to a Congress. Is it the Emperor's object to exhaust her?'[5]

[5] It is interesting to compare with this letter the language of M. Thiers in a letter written four days later (22nd of March), of which we find a copy among the Prince's papers. We translate the more important passages:—'The Emperor Napoleon has at bottom only one aim, one fixed idea, to compass war while talking of peace. By this Congress he more or less paralyses England and Prussia, by tying them down indirectly to his political system; for this Congress gives to the Italian question a body and a soul, a real political existence, hitherto always disputed, and justly so, by Austria.

'This Congress will necessarily defer the breaking out of war; but I think this delay is all that Napoleon wants. His adversary being ready, while he is not, this delay serves admirably his purpose of employing against Austria a method to break her down (*un système dissolvant*), by prolonging a critical and irritating state of things, that will exhaust her. In truth, Austria cannot remain in arms for an indefinite period, without being exhausted. Another result of

Still Lord Cowley continued to report from Paris, that the Emperor seemed to grasp at the idea of a Congress as the means of extricating himself from the difficulties with which he saw himself surrounded. He had hoped that a crusade in Italy would have reinstated him in the good graces of England. This calculation had failed him. There he was more an object of suspicion than ever; while all Europe would obviously be against him, should he provoke a war. The Congress seemed to open the way to escape from his engagement with Sardinia. For, if the Congress told him he was in the wrong, he might then put it to Sardinia, whether she could ask him to carry out a policy which must place him in antagonism to united Europe.

Such was the impression left upon Lord Cowley's mind by his conversations with the Emperor, and in this belief England continued her efforts to arrange the Congress on a satisfactory basis. Lord Clarendon, who had so often to assist in getting the Emperor out of difficulties in which he had involved himself by his habit of acting upon his own rash impulses, when he heard of the proposed Congress, wrote to the Prince (22nd March):—

'On the day when I quitted the Foreign Office I told Lord Malmesbury that the chief employment of the Foreign Secretary was to make bridges for the Emperor of the French. Lord Malmesbury has reminded me of this, and said that he was constantly occupied in similar works of construction. The bridges have been built: they have safely borne the retreating party, but the stipulated price has in no one instance been paid, and I fear we shall long be suffering creditors for the work which we are now requested to undertake.

this state of things might be, that the young Emperor, weary of an intolerable burden, may end by preferring war to a position as enervating as it would be disastrous. Thus, having *perforce become the aggressor, he would play into Napoleon's hands, who might then proclaim triumphantly that it is no fault of his if the Empire is not Peace.*' This was precisely what happened.

'Considering the origin of this Congress, and the animus of the majority of its members, it will be providential if there does not issue from it increased ill-will, and a settled conviction that the Italian knot can only be undone by the sword. I trust that we may not be forced by a sense of justice to become partisans, and to lose our neutral position of usefulness, and that a misunderstanding between England and France, which I believe to be the object of Russia in proposing the Congress, may not be realised. But as the British Plenipotentiary will be the only one there with an honest purpose, his task will be difficult, and he may beforehand reckon upon the indignation of his countrymen, if he does not maintain peace, break all the Treaties, and place Italian liberty upon a permanent foundation.'

Nothing can show more clearly the chaotic condition at which the negotiations to prevent a war, which was not to be prevented, had now arrived, then the following Memorandum, which the Prince drew up the day after this letter was written :—

'The state of the Italian question is at this moment more confused than ever, because on any attempt to undo the knot, the first point is to discover where the threads are interlaced.

'The Emperor Napoleon has pledged himself to support Sardinia in a war *juste et légitime*, and not merely if she shall be attacked by Austria. Cavour believes he holds this promise in writing, and is ready to threaten publication, if he should be thrown over.

'We point out that by this, the Emperor has sold himself to the devil, and that Cavour can do with his honour what he pleases—yea, even ruin his political existence.

'He owns his fault, would be glad to find a way to retreat if he could, without being compromised in the face of his people, which would be his destruction, and so that he could say to the Italians, "You see, I have done whatever was

possible for you. You cannot wish me to embroil myself in war with Europe; it would not improve your chances."

'He is furious at the aggressive language used in Germany, which in a month's time will make all France wish for war—France, which at this moment is only anxious for the maintenance of peace. Still he persists in maintaining, that he has been making no preparations, and many officers, some of our own among them, maintain the same thing.

'Walewski is heart and soul in favour of a peaceful solution; Russia, which anticipated little good from Lord Cowley's mission, now wishes to effect the solution by the proposal of a Congress. Whether she is jealous of English influence, or feels her own isolation oppressive, or wants to pay Austria off in the Congress for the treatment which she received from her at the last Congress, is hard to divine. Russia speaks of the revision of the Paris Treaty, which will restore her to her fitting place in Europe.

'In Paris the Congress is taken up as having been proposed by Russia, and it is from there the proposal is to come to us also. We can hear only of Conferences, and these not in Paris: they are only to be held by the five Great Powers.

'We sound Austria; she is ready, but upon condition that no questions of territory are to be touched; that the objects of the consultation are to be, the evacuation of Rome, Roman reform, and questions about the assurance of the lesser States against attacks from within and from without. No progress in the latter can be made without the concurrence of the States themselves: therefore Conference in Rome.

France desires a confederacy of the lesser States; Austria would perhaps see in that an equivalent for her separate Treaties.

'Sardinia is mad at the thought of being excluded from the Conference. If the lesser States are to be admitted, it cannot take place; we desire as a preliminary condition immediate dis-

armament in Sardinia. Austria will then have to withdraw her troops also. Sardinia insists on a European guarantee before she stirs.

'If Sardinia does not disarm, we tell the Emperor, she may at any moment engage him in a war.

'Now the Russian proposal does not make its appearance: Malakoff makes it in the name of France—great confusion!—is thereupon called to account. Prince Gortschakoff maintains that he was only ready to take part in a Congress, but had gone no further. Confusion extreme! Shall time be given to Cavour to get up an insurrection in Italy, or time to the Ministry here to be beaten on the Reform question, so as then to be able to push matters better with their successors?

'Meanwhile we call upon Sardinia for a declaration that she will not attack Austria; she declares she is ready to go into the Congress of which Russia speaks to her, and urges that her presence in Congress is the only way to prevent insurrection in Italy from exploding. If things come to a Conference, we are to demand disarmament as a preliminary, and also that the deliberations shall be confined to the four points.[6] Perhaps we may have two Conferences, one European and an Italian one. London, Berlin, or places like Geneva, Aix or Brussels, to be the *locale* for the former.

P.S.—Fresh telegram. Russia will now make the proposal, but for a Congress, not a Conference, in which all the Prime Ministers shall take a part, at any place except Vienna. Is ready to accept our four points.'

The same day (23rd of March) the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar as follows:—

[6] The four points were: 1. Means of assuring peace between Austria and Sardinia. 2. Evacuation of the Roman States by foreign troops, and reforms of internal administration of Italian States. 3. Arrangement to be substituted for existing special treaties between Austria and the Italian States. 4. Territorial arrangements and treaties of 1815 not to be touched.

'My heart impels me daily and hourly to thank you for your last letter of the 11th, and I am daily and hourly prevented, by the claims which every moment brings, from yielding to the impulse. Even now I can only do so by sending you a copy of a Memorandum which I have drawn up. It will explain to you the present state of our miserable European complications, so far as we are able here to grasp it. In your judgment about the Empire, its significance, history and future, I entirely concur, and am delighted to find it expressed with so much *verve* and force, in spite of your bodily suffering.

'In our home affairs the confusion is perhaps even greater. A Radical Reform Bill of a Conservative Ministry is denounced as not Radical enough by the Liberal party (who want no reform, and are especially afraid of a Radical one), headed by Lord John, whom they will not have as leader. . . . I am thoroughly disgusted, and yet I have just completed for the Princess Royal a treatise on the advantages of a constitutional government. It is dealt with here just at this moment with an utter absence of moral principle, and our statesmen even regard moral principle as not at all necessary on their part, because, owing to the good sense of the country, and the general loyalty and contentment and prosperity, the consequences of the want of it are not immediately felt. While this is so, the public is perilously apathetic and indifferent for and against Ministers, and the press is,—well, as it always is. As to the issue of the debate, I will not prophesy. Lord Derby expects a majority of 100 against him, Disraeli hopes to pull through. Whether it is to be resignation or dissolution must for the present also remain undecided.'

The debate upon Lord John Russell's amendment had commenced on the 21st of March, and was continued through

seven nights. It was remarkable for the ability with which it was conducted. On the 22nd, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton spoke with an oratorical power, of which up to that time he had given no evidence. His speech was spoken of by Mr. Sidney Herbert, who replied to him, in terms of warm admiration, as a piece of 'splendid declamation;' but this only indicated the least of its merits, for it showed, in the directness and vigour of its rejoinders to previous speakers, the qualities of a skilful debater, and all a statesman's breadth of view in his argument as to the direction in which enlargement of the franchise should be carried.[1] The same evening witnessed a no less remarkable display on the part of Sir Hugh Cairns. It is interesting to see what was thought of these remarkable speeches by one whose own pre-eminence in debate gives special value to his opinion. It was thus Mr. Disraeli described them, in writing the same night from the House of Commons to the Queen, with his accustomed report of the progress of the debate:—

'A night of immense power and excitement. Two of the greatest speeches ever delivered in Parliament—by Sir Edward Lytton and the Solicitor-General. . . . Both spoke in a crowded house: one before dinner, the other concluding, just down. Never was a greater contrast between two orators, resembling each other in nothing but their excellence.

'Deaf, fantastic, modulating his voice with difficulty, sometimes painful—at first almost an object of ridicule to the superficial—Lytton occasionally reached even the sublime, and perfectly enchained his audience. His description of the English Constitution, his analysis of democracy,—as rich and more powerful than Burke.

'Sir Hugh Cairns devoted an hour to a reply to Lord John's Resolution, and to a vindication of the Government Bill, which charmed every one by its lucidity and controlled every one by its

[1] One of the best parts of his speech was an exposition of what Cicero's famous axiom has expressed in ten words: '*Semper in re publicâ tenendum est, ne plurimum valeant plurimi.*'

logic. When he had, in the most masterly manner and with a concinnity which none can equal, closed the business part of his address, he directed himself to the political portion of the theme, and having literally demolished the mover of the amendment, sat down amid universal cheers.'

The closing words of Sir Hugh Cairns' speech were received by the House with an enthusiasm due in no small degree to the substantial truth which was felt to lie at the bottom of his invective against the mover of the amendment:—

'The people of this country,' he said, 'have differed, and they always will differ, about Reform Bills, about theories of representation, about social and domestic legislation of any kind; but there is one subject upon which the people of this country are entirely agreed. They do not like anything which bears the least appearance of artifice or—I must use a homely phrase—a dodge. They do not like it in business, they do not like it in politics, but least of all will they admire it in a man who, at a time when the best interests of his country at home, and our most peaceful hopes abroad, demand all the patriotism, all the candour, and all the forbearance of a statesman, approaches the consideration of a great national question like this, not fairly to criticise, not boldly to reject, but contriving a crafty and catching device to confuse, and, if it may be, to dislocate parties, and on that confusion and dislocation to secure his own political aggrandisement and private advantage.'

Three nights afterwards (25th March) Lord Palmerston made a speech in support of the amendment, which by its defiant and dictatorial language put an end to any prospect of the Ministry attempting to modify their Bill in the event of the amendment being carried:—

'There is no doubt,' he said, 'the amendment will be carried, and then what is the Government to do? We are told various things. Some persons say the Ministry will resign. Sir, I believe no such thing. I think it will be a dereliction of duty on their part if they do resign. I do not want them to resign. I say to them, as I think Voltaire said of some Minister who

had incurred his displeasure, "I won't punish him; I won't send him to prison; I condemn him to keep his place." They took the Government with its engagements. They undertook a measure of reform, and they will be flinching from their duty to the Crown and the country if, in consequence of such a vote as that proposed by my noble friend, they fling up their places and throw upon us the difficulty of dealing with this subject. . . . But then it is said they may dissolve. I have no greater faith in their dissolving than in their resignation. I am of this opinion, because to dissolve Parliament at the present moment implies more than the single will of the Government. The concurrence of this House is necessary to its own dissolution. Before the Government dissolve it must take another vote in supply, pass the Appropriation Act, the Ways and Means Act, and make provision for Exchequer Bills which will fall due in May. Now all these operations require the hearty concurrence of the House, and are the Government, I should like to know, sure of obtaining that concurrence?'

If Lord Palmerston desired, as he well might, that the Ministry should go on with their attempt to effect a settlement of the Reform question, which had so long been a thorn in his side, and to the stirring of which he notoriously bore no goodwill, he was not likely to persuade them by the use of language, truly described by Mr. Disraeli, in his report to the Queen of that evening's debate, as 'infinitely audacious.' His hint at stopping the supplies in the event of a Dissolution was as little calculated to deter them from that step, should they be inclined to adopt it. The country would be with them, for it knew that this step would neither be proposed by the Government at such a moment, nor sanctioned by the Queen, except with the greatest reluctance. Of this Lord Palmerston was well aware. Accordingly, when Lord John Russell's amendment was carried, as it was (1st April) by a majority of 330 against 291, and Mr. Disraeli three nights afterwards announced the intention of the Ministry to appeal to the country, his attitude was entirely altered. Lord Palmerston,

Mr. Disraeli wrote to the Queen the same evening, was 'constitutional, and, instead of stopping supplies, he was anxious almost to precipitate public business.'

The whole political situation at home and abroad at this critical moment cannot be better presented than in the following letter, written by the Prince next day (5th April) to King Leopold:—

'Dearest Uncle, . . . The Dissolution is a serious matter, and may give rise to great excitement in the country. It must lead to a large number of the members of the new Parliament pledging themselves at the elections to extreme measures of democratic reform, even though the Ministry should gain a majority, of which Lord Derby (who is, however, of a sanguine temperament) feels certain. To all parties the Dissolution is unwelcome, on account of the interruption to business, the consequent agitation in London, and the double expense and inconvenience which it involves, as immediately after the passing of a Reform Bill the House must be again dissolved, to make way for a Parliament elected under the new law. Nevertheless, the Ministry thought they had no alternative. Lord Palmerston's insolent speech had made any modification of their own Bill in the present House impossible.

'To have resigned at this crisis would have been a misfortune for Europe. Victoria was against resignation, and in some measure reconciled to a Dissolution by the probability that Lord John Russell, if he came into power and introduced a democratic measure, would in any case have desired a Dissolution to enable him to carry it. In this way we should have had to go through a General Election under much more unfavourable circumstances. . . . How things will go now we do not know. The Ministry have several Money Bills to carry through before they can dissolve; this the Opposition

may make impracticable for them, and Palmerston had threatened as much. Many members have voted for Lord John's Resolutions (as many as between fifty and one hundred) who were not disposed to go the whole length with him. But yet Sir J. Graham, the deviser of the Resolution and of the whole manœuvre, had managed it in such a way that no Liberal could vote against it without exposing himself to the greatest misrepresentation in the country for having done so. On the other hand, many, perhaps two-thirds, of the Conservatives voted against the Resolution, although in their hearts they condemned the Bill. The vote, therefore, after a ten days' debate, conducted with great dignity and with much eloquence, left everything undecided, except that the Bill will now not go on, and that the Ministry cannot change it. Now the oxen are upon the hills, and we, alas, are put to the team in their stead.

'The Congress truly does not "dance," like the Viennese; one can scarcely even say *qu'il marche.* Austria was very rational on the Treaty question, and had already given us assurances in the sense which you had advised. Buol assumed a position quite logical and statesmanlike. He says: "We heard from Lord Cowley the demands which Louis Napoleon makes upon us. We yielded, out of a love for peace, those which depend upon ourselves alone. Since then we have not only withdrawn nothing, but have made still further concessions by intimating our readiness to go into council upon the special treaties. Meanwhile Russia has proposed the Congress, with a view to increase the difficulties of an arrangement. In this Lord Cowley's negotiations have been put on one side. We have accepted the Congress, that nothing should be undone which might avert war; but the Congress was brought about by bad faith, and we must take care not to become its dupes. Consequently we look to England, to see that nothing should be proposed to us there which

is incompatible with our honour and our position, for we have two enemies to deal with. As some assurance that France is really straightforward in the business, and is not merely seeking to gain time for her warlike preparations, in order to pass from the Congress into war, having gained some political pretext for war (which she is now wholly without), we require the disarmament of Sardinia. We are ready to enter the Congress upon the general disarmament of Europe, and even to be very liberal in regard to the Treaties; but it is only there that we will make the concession, and although the Emperor Napoleon may derive some satisfaction from our doing so, we only hope it may be sufficient for his *amour propre*."

'Nothing can, I believe, be better. But now comes the difficulty. Cavour refuses absolutely to disarm, and leaves Paris in high wrath, threatening to bring on the war whether people in Paris wish it or not. He holds in his pocket written promises of assistance for war, made at an earlier date, and from these he declines to set the Emperor free. The Emperor is in a most embarrassing position, and bows beneath the lash of his cousin, who reminds him that *he* had been opposed to the whole Italian policy, but had been won over to it by the marriage, and now requires that people should not dishonour themselves and him by an act of poltroonery (*une lâcheté*).

'Yesterday the telegraph announced from Vienna, that as Sardinia is upheld by France in her resolution not to disarm, the only guarantee is removed, which had made it possible for Austria to enter the Congress, and that now, therefore, she could no longer hear of it. She is justified in coming to this conclusion, yet as a matter of policy wrong. The mischief, however, is, that we cannot blame her, without maintaining that France is in the right, and yet she is here again the true delinquent. If the other three Powers were of one

mind, ways and means might easily be found to get the better of even these difficulties. But as Russia is one of them, and as it is she who has made possible (*vermittelt*) France's whole Italian policy for the last two years, giving her encouragement, the extent of which we can only surmise, while, however, we know her hatred to, and longing to be avenged on Austria, every step is surrounded with difficulty.

'Prince Gortschakoff had from the first said to Sir John Crampton [English Ambassador at St. Petersburg], that he looked to the Congress to regain for Russia the position she had lost since 1855. She was prepared to revise the Treaties of 1815, including with them those of 1856. Their revision had become necessary. He had said the same thing to two other diplomatists in the same words; his language had therefore all the weight of a manifesto. What is, therefore, to be expected from that quarter?

'In France the cadres are now to be settled at 100 new regiments or battalions. The Emperor, therefore, had an eye to the improbability of things being arranged without a war, and to the further improbability, that once begun it would be confined to Italy. He therefore counts more upon the first of the two alternatives which he put before ——, as the consequences of the Congress, "*une guerre ou une éclatante satisfaction pour moi.*"[8]

'We have just heard that Cavour maintains that the Emperor Napoleon himself chalked out at Plombières the whole plan for organising the Italian complication, and that he, Cavour, has only been the instrument, which now, however, cannot let itself be sacrificed. We have several times reminded France of the position she will be placed in morally, should she now break her thrice given promise to effect the

[8] This was the Emperor's expression in a recent conversation with a friend of King Leopold's.

disarmament of Sardinia, if Austria agreed to enter the Congress. Buol has just sent another telegram to say that he will not appear at the Congress. The Italian States have all declined to appear. If nothing comes of the Congress, Russia will have made herself eminently ridiculous.

'We are not disposed to regard our powers of persuasion as even yet exhausted. In the worst event we must take our stand upon the Paris Protocol, and call on France for a statement of her grounds of complaint, which may then be referred to arbitration in the manner indicated by the Protocol.'

But it soon became apparent that there were forces at work more potent than any that diplomacy could bring into the field, and that this 'costly apparatus for maintaining peace' must give place to the arbitrament of war, to which the chief parties to the dispute were both equally eager to appeal.

CHAPTER XCIII.

Amid the bewildering half utterances and vacillations of some of the leading actors in the Italian drama, there was one man who never wavered, and as to whose purpose there could be no mistake. This was Count Cavour. He had set before himself the resolution to dislodge the Austrians from Italy, as the first and indispensable step to the formation of an Italian kingdom under the Sovereign whom he served—a kingdom self-governed, and, in Milton's words, 'aiming at true liberty through the right information of religious and civil life.' Encouraged by the promises of the Emperor of the French, he had embarked heart and soul in this enterprise, for which he had been led to believe the Emperor was prepared to strike with all the force of France. But for the inducements thus held out to him Cavour was too sagacious to have forced on his plans in the way he had recently done. It was now too late for him to recede. For by this time the King of Sardinia and himself were too deeply pledged to withdraw with honour from the assurances they had held out to the moderate Liberal party throughout the Italian States, even if they could see without dismay the vast expenditure altogether thrown away, to which the kingdom had been put in preparing for war.

He was, therefore, naturally taken quite aback when the tidings reached Turin of a Congress, to settle the affairs of Italy, assented to by the Emperor of the French, and from which Sardinia was to be excluded. At Paris, the Sardinian

Ambassador, M. de Villamarina, had been brusquely told by Count Walewski, that 'the Emperor would not make war to advance the ambition of Sardinia, and that a pacific solution of everything might be reached in a Congress in which Sardinia was not entitled to take part.'[1] Language similar in effect was held at Turin by the Count de la Tour d'Auvergne. Cavour did not hesitate in his line of action. He at once wrote to Prince Napoleon, and sent by his agent M. Nigra a letter from the King, to be delivered to the Emperor in person. M. Nigra was instructed to speak strongly to His Majesty, and to tell him that the language addressed by Count Walewski to his Ambassador at Turin was calculated to create profound discouragement, or to drive the King to commit some desperate act. The Emperor's answer was to summon Cavour to Paris forthwith.[2]

Count Cavour arrived there on the 25th of March. He found, as he had anticipated, Count Walewski bent on preventing his master from embarking in war. The Emperor, Count Walewski told him, had finally determined not to quarrel with Austria or to interfere in Italian affairs otherwise than peacefully. To this Cavour replied that he could only attribute Count Walewski's remarks to his utter ignorance of what had already passed between the Emperor and himself. He would not submit to the imputation of being a 'makebate,' and of having sought to embroil France in the Italian struggle, when he had in his possession written evidence to show that

[1] Mazade, *Vie de Cavour*, p. 245. M. de Mazade is our authority for the remainder of this paragraph.

[2] In a private letter from Lord Cowley to Lord Malmesbury (24th March) reporting an interview with the Emperor the previous day, he writes:—'I did all in my power to incline him to join us in requiring Sardinia to disarm. His Majesty admitted that it ought to be done, but he said that his accounts from Turin were of that nature that he was convinced the King would abdicate and Cavour resign if the disarmament were forced upon him, or else in a fit of despair they would throw themselves upon the Austrians. . . . Finally he said he would see what he could do with Cavour, and that he would see me again in a couple of days.'

he had been urged to take the initiative—that he had then remonstrated in the strongest terms against a war with Austria, which might be fatal to Piedmont, and would endanger the peace of Europe, but that he had at last yielded, feeling that he would be false to Italy and to his own policy, were he to refuse the magnificent offers of assistance which were pressed upon him by the Emperor.

On leaving Count Walewski, Count Cavour's first impression was to quit Paris without seeing the Emperor, and he was with difficulty persuaded from this purpose by a friend who had accompanied him from Turin. He said, that if he were now to be thrown over, after the language he had held in Parliament, the national excitement he had created, and the vast expense that had been incurred, he could never again show his face to his countrymen in public. He should accordingly return to Turin that evening, and resign his office, which he knew would be followed by the King's abdication. He would then go to America and publish the documents he possessed, and these would prove to the world, that he had ample grounds for relying on the Emperor's promises, and the assistance of France in a war against Austria.[3]

In his subsequent interviews with the Emperor, who received him, says M. de Mazade, 'with the same cordiality and frankness as at Plombières,' Count Cavour was persuaded to adopt a more moderate course. What he learned in these interviews, as well as in general society in Paris, could not fail to satisfy him, that the task to which the Emperor had committed himself was hedged round with difficulties—difficulties, however, as M. de Mazade admits, 'which might be unexpectedly brought to an end by Austria, should that country be so kind to him as to commit some fault of

[3] These details were not known to the Prince till February 1860, when they were communicated to him from a quarter which placed their accuracy beyond suspicion.

impatience or precipitation.' On the point of disarmament, Count Cavour adhered inexorably to what he had written to Prince Napoleon—'Better far to fall defeated with arms in our hands, than to be miserably lost in anarchy, or to see ourselves reduced to maintaining public tranquillity by the violent methods of the King of Naples. To day we have a moral force, which is worth an army; if we lose that, nothing will restore it to us.'

The fervour of Count Cavour seems to have in some measure reinspired the Emperor, and made his mind incline again to the side of war. Diplomacy was still busy with its efforts for peace. But the Emperor no longer recognised the promise which he had made to Lord Cowley to urge disarmament on Sardinia. When now pressed home (7th April) to say whether he wanted peace or war, the Emperor replied to Lord Cowley that he should be very glad if peace could be maintained, but that he was not afraid of war, adding, that if he were to speak his internal conviction, it was that war was unavoidable. 'There was so much irritation everywhere, there was such a general sentiment prevalent that war could not be avoided, that his instinct told him it would come.' In this interview Lord Cowley heard enough to satisfy him that the Emperor's mind was bent on the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy; for he opened his mind further than he had hitherto done.

'He asked me, among other things,' Lord Cowley writes to Lord Malmesbury (8th April), 'what England would do if war broke out?' I replied that I had no doubt she would endeavour to maintain her neutrality. 'But,' said the Emperor, 'England has always disliked the presence of the Austrians in Italy—why should we not endeavour to understand each other? Supposing I give guarantees that I have no ambitious projects, surely she would help me to obtain that which is not repugnant to her. . . .'

'I told him it was my conviction, that if he attempted, without reason, any scheme so iniquitous, he would have both the

moral and material elements of England arrayed against him. I gave him all the reasons in my power to show that no Government in England would ever assist in a deliberate and uncalled-for attack upon an unoffending ally. If His Majesty wanted to incite Great Britain as one man against him, he had only to take the course he had hinted at. The Emperor seemed somewhat surprised at the energetic reproval which I confess I gave him, and he expressed doubts whether I was correct in my judgment; but I begged him to write to whom he would in England if he doubted my being right—to you—to Palmerston—to Clarendon—even to John Russell—and that I was convinced he would hear no two opinions.' This part of the conversation seemed to make a deep impression upon him.'

Some days before this interview took place Austria had, as a further evidence of her pacific intentions, proposed, as one of the matters to be settled by the Congress, a simultaneous disarmament of the Great Powers. France, protesting that her armaments were all upon the peace footing, had declined to entertain this proposal. Before leaving the Emperor Lord Cowley reverted to the question, which had already been discussed between them.

'"Recollect, Sire,'" I said, "that this proposal has been made by Austria, and that it is a tremendous responsibility not to accept it. Recollect that it is a fearful thing to have, as you have, peace and war within your hands. Nobody contests your right to feel deep sympathy for Italy. It is in your power to help her by pacific means. God knows whether you may rivet her chains faster if you have recourse to war. Remember that there is glory and renown to be obtained as the dispenser of peace, as there is disaster possible if you draw the sword. It is not Italy only, but the world that may be the sufferer. At this moment the honour of France is untouched. You admit that you have no cause of quarrel with Austria. For God's sake do not make one! Once more I repeat, war and peace are within your gift. God grant that you may make a right choice." I said these words with all the solemnity that a real feeling of the truth of them could give. The Emperor seemed affected, and promised to consider well what I had said.'

Lord Cowley's words were not without their effect upon the Emperor, who within a few days afterwards assented to the arrangement that the Congress should meet, Sardinia and the other Italian States being admitted to be heard in it, and Sardinia concurring in the general disarmament. On the 18th of April Count Cavour was asked in a telegram from Paris for his instant adhesion to this arrangement. The moment was a trying one for him; but he saw that refusal would have been a grave error. So long as England only had called on Sardinia to disarm, he could afford to make an evasive or even negative reply. Now, he argued, if we accept the proposal to disarm, we are yielding to a demand addressed to us by Europe. Our honour is safe. We have resisted as long as we could. Nevertheless our position is serious—not desperate, but serious.[4]

The tidings of the next few days made Cavour's position look less desperate. Everything depended upon what Austria should now do. Russia, Prussia, France, England, were all agreed upon the basis for the Congress. Austria still hung back, and every day rendered her acceptance of the arrangement more and more doubtful. She pressed for disarmament as a preliminary to the Congress; the other Powers were willing that its terms and manner should be arranged in the Congress itself. 'Austria,' he said, 'does not speak; should she refuse, then the Emperor divined that she would refuse!'

Meanwhile, the efforts of England to reach a peaceable solution were unremitting. Every half-hour the negotiations presented some new phase, and from the Courts of all the Great Powers came despatches and telegrams in bewildering confusion. 'The telegraph drives one almost mad,' the Prince writes (12th April). 'Two to three an hour is the usual number, and they almost always contradict each other.' Nor were the tidings they brought less unpleasant than confusing.

[4] Mazade, *Vie de Cavour*, p. 251.

It is thus the Prince writes to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg a few days later (16th April):—

'I can remember no period of equal confusion and danger. The ill-starred telegraph speaks incessantly from all quarters of the globe, and from every quarter a different language (I mean to a different purport). Suspicion, Hatred, Pride, Cunning, Intrigue, Covetousness, Dissimulation dictate the despatches, and in this state of things we cast about to find a basis on which peace may be secured! An agreeable occupation! At home we are now on the verge of a dissolution of Parliament, which is to take place on Tuesday; parties are broken up, and much embittered against each other; and with things in this state we are to find a sure basis for a Reform Bill, which will satisfy the democrats, without driving monarchy and aristocracy to the wall! Also a pretty business.'

The dissolution of Parliament at such a moment, and the presence at the head of affairs of a Government, which, until the result of the elections was known, could only be regarded as provisional, were most inopportune. As such it was felt by the political leaders of the Opposition, and they did what they could not to add to the embarrassment which their action in respect to the Reform Bill had occasioned. Both Houses discussed the alarming state of Europe in debates on the 18th of April, and to both the fullest explanations were given of what the Ministry had done in the interests of peace. Not much confidence was expressed in the prospects of the Congress, even if it should be entered upon, tainted in its origin as it was, and equivocal in its purpose, from being interpolated at the time when Lord Cowley seemed to have had in his hands the means of effecting a reconciliation between Austria and France. 'I believe,' said Lord Clarendon, speaking in the House of Lords—and his audience felt there was much truth in the

sarcasm—'that all my noble friend (Lord Malmesbury) knows is this: that one despotic Power has proposed to another despotic Power, that by means of a Congress, a third despotic Power should pave the way for liberal institutions.'

Writing to the King of the Belgians next day (19th April) his usual weekly letter, the Prince says:—

'Thursday is again here, but no peace! Neither is there any better prospect of arriving at one. The propositions and counter-propositions which cross each other almost hourly I will pass over in silence, as they have come to nothing, and only confuse one. The *animus* of the parties seems alone to be worth study. I will follow the indications which point to that.

'The Emperor Napoleon said to Lord Clarendon at Compiègne last November:—"Let us discuss general policy frankly. The object of our Eastern policy was twofold,"—Lord Clarendon nodded assent, thinking he referred to driving Russia out of the East and securing the safety of Turkey;—"Poland and Italy! Poland must be given up, as we wished to be friends with Russia—so Italy alone is left!" It is not agreeable to have large transactions with such an ally. Schleinitz has asked Budberg point blank whether Russia intended secretly to concentrate 60,000 men on the Austrian frontier. He did not deny it, but applauded his Government for the resolution, "*comme la Russie ne pourrait jamais souffrir que l'Autriche sorte victorieuse d'une guerre avec la France, parce que jamais elle ne pourrait s'entendre avec elle sur les affaires de Turquie*" (*sic*).

'The Austrians seem bent on beginning the war, no doubt hoping to strike a decisive blow, before the French can appear upon the field.—a very hazardous venture, and one the issue of which is scarcely to be brought within the rules of probability. Here it will turn public opinion at a stroke against Austria and in favour of Sardinia.'

Writing to her Uncle the same day the Queen expresses no less anxiety:—'Matters look very serious, yet for all that they may right themselves more quickly than we now can anticipate. Here matters are quiet. The elections will, I think, be conducted with unusual moderation,—a proof of the soundness and good sense of the country. I own, one becomes dreadfully disgusted with politics and Europe. . . . The conduct of the Emperor grieves me. He will have a fearful responsibility, if he brings on war without the shadow of a reason.'

The Queen then announces the approaching confirmation of her second daughter, the Princess Alice. 'She is,' Her Majesty writes, 'very good, gentle, sensible, and amiable, and a real comfort to me. I shall not let her marry as long as I can reasonably delay her doing so. To-morrow she will be examined by the Archbishop.'

It was by Austria, as the Prince had feared, and not by France, that the note of war was first sounded. The same day (19th April) on which the Prince wrote the letter just cited, Count Buol despatched to Turin by the hands of Baron Kellersberg, a demand upon Sardinia to disarm, under threat that unless she did so within three days, the Austrian army would march upon Turin. The step, though a gross mistake in policy, was perhaps not much to be wondered at. The facts within her knowledge no doubt satisfied Austria that her leading adversaries had no wish for the Congress to result in a pacific settlement. Her position in Italy, embarrassing and a real source of weakness to herself as it was, was one she could only surrender by an heroic act of self-denial. But such an act, wise and politic as it would have been, and one to which in other circumstances she might not have been averse, was impossible, with France and Piedmont gathering their forces to extort it, for it would have been misunderstood by her own people, and misrepresented by her opponents.

Sooner or later, it was manifest, she would have to fight for her Italian possessions. As, therefore,—even if France and Piedmont were as sincere, as she had reason to believe they were not, in their desire to effect for the time a peaceful solution of the Italian question by a Congress,—Austria must have felt that the struggle would come, and come probably at a time when her adversary would be better prepared for it than now, war, with all the disadvantage of having seemed to provoke it, may have appeared to her Government a lesser evil than to have it hanging indefinitely over their heads. Unable as they were, moreover, to estimate the extent to which their malign influence in Italy had alienated from them the sympathies of Europe, and confident in the strength of their splendid army, they probably counted on such a success as would at all events make Piedmont impotent for further mischief, and enable them to choose their own time for dealing with the question of administrative changes in Italy. If such were the views by which they were actuated, bold and rapid military action, before the French had time to come to the assistance of Sardinia, was the necessary complement to the success of their policy. But having placed themselves in the wrong, their nerve seemed all at once to fail them, and they forfeited by their vacillation in the field the only advantage which their rash and unwise summons to Sardinia had given them.

The news of the step taken by Austria created no small dismay in England, and was instantly followed by an intimation from our Government, that they protested against the threatened invasion of the Sardinian territory. Speaking at the Lord Mayor's dinner (25th April) Lord Derby said:—'There was nothing, in his judgment, to justify the hasty, the precipitate, and, because involving the horrors of war, the criminal step which had been taken by Austria.' Nevertheless his Government were at the time continuing their efforts to

avert war, by proposing that Sardinia should act upon the twenty-third Protocol of Paris of the 14th of April, 1856, and call for the mediation of the Great Powers of Europe.

On the 26th of April the Queen wrote to her Uncle at Brussels:—

'I hardly know what to say, so confused and bewildered are we by the reports which come in three to four times a day. I have no hopes of peace left. Though it was originally the wicked folly of Russia and France that brought about this fearful crisis, it is the madness and blindness of Austria which have brought on the war now. She has thus put herself in the wrong, and entirely changed the feeling here into the most vehement sympathy for Sardinia. . . .

'It is a melancholy and sad Easter. These events have disturbed and spoilt the quiet of our dear Alice's confirmation, for the alarming news of the very unwise decision of Austria came when the ceremony was just over, and while we were still talking to the company assembled for it. However, this did not disturb our dear child's equanimity. She was in a most devotional state of mind—quiet, gentle, self-possessed, and deeply impressed with the importance and solemnity of the event. She answered admirably at her examination, and went through the ceremony in a very perfect manner.'

The same day the Prince wrote to King Leopold:—

'Austria has, at last, fairly involved herself in the position which her enemies desired, that is, put herself in the wrong. Her demand on Sardinia to disarm just at the very moment when Sardinia had agreed with the other Powers upon disarmament, simply upon condition of being heard in Congress with the other Italian States, and when all the other States had assented to the proposal, was a tremendous mistake, and has caused the greatest indignation here. The sympathy for Sardinia, which was only subdued and kept down by dis-

pleasure at the proceedings of France, now finds a free vent, and Austria is once more the oppressor of Italy, the violator of treaties and of popular rights, &c. &c.

'The affair may cost our Ministry its elections, as it is sure to be regarded as responsible for the encouragement (*Ermuthigung*) which has led Austria to take this violent step. . . .[5]

'Nevertheless, we are now making a fresh attempt to let the Congress drop, and simply to take up the negotiation where we left it at the successful close of Lord Cowley's mission. Austria is ready to enter upon the negotiation, but makes success impossible for us by mixing it up with the preliminary disarmament of Sardinia, of which at that time not a word was said. France is not over well-pleased at our proposal, as she could not so easily bring Austria a second time into so false a position, and therefore she says with Sir Lucius O'Trigger, "No! no! The quarrel is a mighty pretty one as it stands!"

'Are you making preparations? When all the world is arming, Belgium should not remain defenceless.'

Before this letter was despatched, a fresh complication had arisen, and the Prince adds in a postscript:—

'The telegraph has once more totally altered everything, as it announces the march of French troops into Sardinia. It is not Austria and Sardinia that now stand face to face, but Austria and France. Whether this will facilitate our proposal to negotiate directly between Austria and France I know not. It places Austria in a worse position in a military,

[5] The charge was, in fact, brought, and with the vehemence usual where party rancour takes the place of conscientious convictions based upon information carefully sifted and digested. The publication of a Blue-Book with the Despatches which had been exchanged on the Italian question proved the utter groundlessness of the charge. But Blue-Books are read by few, and not always with an open mind even by those few.

in a better in a moral point of view, for hitherto Austria has only threatened, and France has acted.'

The same day this letter was written, Count Walewski spoke at great length in the Corps Législatif in vindication of the French policy in Italy, and concluded by the announcement, that if the Sardinian territory were invaded, France would regard this step as a declaration of war against herself. Three days afterwards (29th of April) the Austrian troops crossed the Ticino. By this time, however, there were upwards of 40,000 French troops in Piedmont, and Generals Canrobert and Baraguay d'Hilliers had arrived at Turin to concert the plan of operations. The French Government had definitively refused the last offer of negotiation referred to by the Prince. Revolution had broken out in Florence and Modena. War was now inevitable, and any advantage which Austria might have gained by prompt military action on the expiration of the three days allowed by her demand on Piedmont was irrecoverably lost.

On the 27th of April the Prince wrote to the Prince Regent of Prussia:—

'At one stroke the Emperor Francis Joseph has turned public opinion here against Austria. The popular instinct, long observation, and political principles had disposed the English to be hostile to the action of Austria in Italy, and favourable to the emancipation of that country from the Austrian yoke, and nothing short of the very equivocal conduct of France could have silenced this feeling, and wakened in its stead a feeling against that country. Now all is changed. You will best understand the position which the Government sees itself driven to adopt from Lord Derby's speech at a dinner at the Mansion House two days ago, which I beg you will read.

'What the impression will be, which the new state of things

will produce, I do not venture to decide. A determination to take no part in the war seems to me to have been formed quite decidedly. Whether circumstances will admit of this determination being carried out is quite another question.

'We have asked France point blank as to the treaty which she is said to have made with Russia in the view of eventualities, as we regard any such treaty as incompatible with our alliance with her up to the present time.

'The Emperor of Russia has complained of Lord Derby's last speech in the House of Lords, which spoke of the Russian proposal of a Congress as an untoward event, preventing as it did an adjustment of the dispute by means of the negotiation successfully conducted by Lord Cowley at Vienna. The Emperor professes himself deeply wronged by the statement, as it looks as though he had wished to prevent an arrangement by stepping in for the purpose, whereas he only made his proposal at the request of France, and after she had given him the assurance that Lord Cowley's mission had come to nothing. From other quarters, however, we hear, that on the 6th of March[6] Russia made it known in Turin, that France had assented to her proposal of a Congress on the Italian question. How can any one take precautions against conduct such as this?

'Still, man proposes and God disposes; and what can any man do better than act quite honestly, loyally, fearlessly, and firmly? Many things will turn out very differently from what the actors in the play have expected. . . . .

'We have sent ten ships of the line and six frigates to the Mediterranean, and are getting together here a new fleet. The French want to know, whether we shall look on quietly, if they commence warlike operations in the Adriatic—a question which we naturally decline to answer. . . .'

[6] Five days before Lord Cowley left Vienna, and when his negotiations there had scarcely begun.

The day after this letter was written, *The Times* announced in very unqualified terms the existence of a treaty offensive and defensive, said to have been recently contracted between France and Russia. So strong was the feeling of indignation excited by this announcement, that, had it been confirmed, the most serious consequences could scarcely fail to have ensued. Not one hour had been lost by Lord Malmesbury, when information of the existence of such a treaty reached him, as it had done some days before, in requiring explanations on the subject from both Powers. Prince Gortschakoff, on the part of Russia, would go no further than to say that it contained no arrangements hostile to England. The Emperor of the French went further, and authorised Lord Cowley to give his personal assurance to Lord Malmesbury, that he had no secret treaty or convention of any kind with Russia. All that he had obtained from her, he declared, was a promise of benevolent neutrality, and the assembling of troops on the Gallician frontier. This promise was instantly fulfilled by the movement thither of 60,000 Russians under General Lüders—an act, the 'benevolent neutrality' of which it was not difficult to construe in the light furnished by the remark of Baron Budberg, above quoted, as to the purpose to which, if the necessity arose, this very considerable force would be applied. These explanations had not reached England, when the Prince wrote (29th April) the following letter to Baron Stockmar:—

'Another week is past, during which affairs in Europe have become much worse. We work day and night, doing everything we can to avert war. . . . but without success. The position is perpetually changing from hour to hour. The Austrian ultimatum was a tremendous mistake, and has produced the most damaging impression here, and driven us into a hostile attitude towards Austria. Then came the descent of the French upon Sardinia, which gave rise to

feelings of the opposite kind. Then Austria accepted our negotiation instead of the Congress; this France refused! Yesterday *The Times* announced to the world the existence of the Russo-French secret treaties, and as they are calculated to expose us to serious peril, the British Lion is roused. Quite late last night arrives a proposal from France of a mediation of England, Russia, and Prussia. The Cabinet are to deliberate upon this to-day. If Russia be already leagued by treaty against one of the contending parties, she can scarcely be allowed to take a place in the Court of Arbitration. Our answer will therefore necessarily be, "Russia? A neutral Power, or a party in the conflict with Austria?"[1]

'We are greatly pleased with our Ministry in these trying circumstances; they are wide awake, take a great deal of trouble, and are fully alive to the larger question which is included in the small one. Palmerston, on the other hand, is out and out *Napoléonide*, maintains France to be in the right on all points, calls the Emperor honourable, the object a useful one, of driving the Austrians out of Italy, and does not recognise any right on the part of Prussia to interfere in the affair. Clarendon is of precisely the opposite opinion, and takes infinite pains to make a stand against his former colleagues. Lord John is (for the moment) moderate, because the City would not re-elect him if he were to blow the war trumpet. The elections began yesterday. The Ministers still think they will be great gainers.

'We have sent orders to the Prince of Wales to leave Rome, and repair to Gibraltar. I hope the ship that is to take him will have arrived in Cività Vecchia. Alice got through her confirmation admirably. Alfred, who has bathed in the Dead Sea and in Jordan, is in Syria, but he will now

[1] As might have been anticipated, this proposal came to nothing. Its object of gaining time for France to complete her preparations was too obvious.

return to the Fleet, which has been augmented to ten ships of the line. We are trying to get ready ten others for the Channel, four of which are already afloat.

'I have suffered all last week from toothache, but am better to-day. . . . Farewell! I would give anything to be able to have a talk with you, and to hear your views.'

All hope of averting war was now at end. Austria had by this time 140,000 men within Sardinian territory, and a few days afterwards the French force there was augmented to about 80,000 men. The King of Sardinia went to Alessandria on the 1st of May, to take the command of the army. Parma, following the example of Florence and Modena, was in revolution (3rd May), and the French Emperor had announced his intention of placing himself at the head of his troops. Already a change in the feeling of Paris was perceptible. The stir of preparation, the movement of troops through the city on their way to Italy, roused the latent warlike temper of the people. This feeling was fomented by a manifesto issued by the Emperor on the 3rd of May, in which he skilfully urged the fact of the Emperor of Austria having invaded the territory of Sardinia as a declaration of war against France, a violation of treaties, and a menace of the French frontiers. Why, it went on to say, this sudden invasion?

'Because Austria has brought things to this extremity, that either she must rule up to the Alps, or Italy be free to the Adriatic,[8] for in that country every nook of land which remains

[8] In a letter to Lord Malmesbury (8th June) Lord Cowley mentions, on the authority of a person, who learned the fact from Count Walewski, that when this proclamation was under consideration, Count Walewski had passed many hours in endeavouring to persuade the Emperor to omit all reference to the Adriatic, observing that the expression would alarm all Europe, and moreover render it exceedingly difficult for the Emperor to conclude a peace, which should fall short of his own words. The Emperor demurred to Count Walewski's interpretation of the passage, which, he said, was simply the ex-

independent is a danger for her power.' . . . 'I wish for no conquest,' the manifesto went on to say, 'but I do wish to maintain firmly my national and traditional policy. I observe the treaties on condition that they are not violated in my despite. I respect the territory and the rights of neutral Powers; but I proclaim far and wide my sympathy for a people whose history is mingled with our own, and which groans beneath foreign oppression.'

This was an appeal to which the national pride responded all the more readily that France was entering upon a war in the cause of freedom, unencumbered by an ally of sufficient magnitude to overshadow her own importance. The war, hitherto all but universally deprecated, grew daily more popular. Face to face with its hazards, however, the Emperor himself did not share the general exultation, and was perplexed with apprehensions, that the programme he had announced was beyond his means to execute, and that the war, once begun, might assume proportions more formidable than he had contemplated. On hearing of the passage of his troops into Sardinia, Prussia had intimated her intention of mobilising her army, and the minor States of Germany were clamorous to be led to the support of Austria. England, on the other hand, as mentioned by the Prince, was strengthening her fleet. She refused to see in the French Emperor the liberator of Italy, and was actively at work to establish a Volunteer force for the national protection against the contingency of a French invasion.

In the latter movement the Prince took an active interest. He was fully alive to the difficulty of giving permanence to any

pression of an opinion, but did not bind him in any way to maintain that opinion by the sword. This, however, is scarcely to be reconciled with the language of the Emperor in his address to his Ministers (20th July), on returning to Paris after the Peace of Villafranca: 'I felt great reluctance to curb the ardour of our soldiers, *to withdraw from my programme the territory from the Mincio to the Adriatic*, and to see noble illusions and patriotic hopes vanish from honest hearts.'

purely voluntary body, dependent, to use his own words, 'on temporary enthusiasm, and the temporary agreement amongst themselves of a certain number of individuals, who may probably change soon after their first formation, and who can transfer to others neither their original enthusiasm nor their mutual agreement.' He also attached full value to the doubts of military authorities as to the usefulness of such additions to our armed forces, 'on account of the want of discipline of such troops, the danger they might occasion in time of peace to the internal security of the country, and the probability that their irregular efforts would produce confusion at a time, when strict order, method, and unity of purpose are of most importance.'[9]

When, therefore, the Government decided to authorise the formation of rifle corps, as well as of artillery corps and companies in maritime towns with forts and batteries, the Prince applied himself to the study of the means of organising these bodies in such a way as to make them a permanent means of defence, on which the country might confidently rely upon an emergency. The results were embodied by him in an elaborate series of 'Instructions to Lord-Lieutenants,' which he sent to General Peel, as Secretary of War, on the 20th of May. It was by him found to be so complete, that he submitted it three days afterwards to the Cabinet, by whom it was adopted, and ordered to be issued forthwith. Accordingly it was printed and sent out to the Lord-Lieutenants throughout the kingdom next day (25th May), and formed the code for the organisation and working of these Volunteer corps, the early development of which the Prince watched with the keenest interest, and with a natural pride in the success of the movement.

While Europe was thus agitated by warlike alarms, the

[9] These words are quoted from a Memorandum dated 6th May, 1859, by the Prince, embodying a plan for organising Volunteer artillery and coast defences.

hands of England were happily set free by the successful close of the Indian Mutiny. On the 14th of April, five days before Parliament was dissolved, the late Lord Derby in the House of Lords, and Lord Stanley in the House of Commons, moved the thanks of Parliament to the various civil functionaries, and to the army, native and European, for their eminent skill, courage, and perseverance during the military operations by which the late insurrection had been suppressed. These thanks were voted with acclamation by both Houses. At the same time Her Majesty, considering that a personal acknowledgment of Lord Canning's services was due from herself, wrote to him the following letter, in which the institution of what is now known as the Order of the Star of India is at the same time thrown out for his consideration :—

'Buckingham Palace, 18th May, 1859.

'The Queen must begin her letter to Lord Canning by expressing her joy and gratitude at the termination of this sad mutiny, which caused her such grief, and so much misery to so many.

'The Queen must also express again her high sense of Lord Canning's services during these most trying times.

'Lord Canning will hear from Lord Derby on a subject in which she takes a personal interest. It is the means of gratifying the personal feelings of the chief number of the native princes, binding them together in a confraternity, and attaching them by a personal tie to the Sovereign.

'These results the Queen looks for in the foundation of a high order of chivalry. The statutes might be similar to those of the Garter, the Thistle, and the St. Patrick. The number of its members to be few, perhaps 20 or 24, the Viceroy to be Grand Master, the Queen the Sovereign of the Order. The members to be invested by the Viceroy in person, and thus do personal homage to him. All existing members

to be summoned for the admission of a new one. The day for the investiture to be the anniversary of the assumption of the government of India by the Crown of England.

'The Queen would wish also to obtain the means of conferring honorary knighthoods (making honorary members) of the Order on Eastern potentates, like the Shah of Persia, the sovereigns of Nepaul, Burmah, &c., as a means of extending influence over them.

'The Queen has entered into all these details in order to give Lord Canning a notion of her ideas on the subject, and to elicit his opinion and views as to whether they will be feasible.'

To this letter Lord Canning replied on the 4th of July. After thanking Her Majesty for her gracious expressions as to himself, he went on to say:—

'Lord Canning ventures to believe that he is well able to figure to himself the feelings with which your Majesty will have welcomed the termination of the mutiny and rebellion in India, and of the chief miseries which these have brought in their train. He hopes that your Majesty will not have thought that there has been remissness in not marking this happy event by an earlier public acknowledgment and thanksgiving in India, as has already been done in England.[10] The truth is, that although this termination has long been steadily and surely approaching, it is but just now that it can be said to be complete in the eyes of those who are near to the scene of action. It is only within the last three weeks that the exertions of our troops on the Oude and Nepaulese frontier, and in some other parts, have been remitted, and almost every Gazette has recounted engagements with the rebels, which, although they have invariably had the same issue, would scarcely have consisted with a declaration that peace and tranquillity were restored. Now, however, mili-

[10] There had been a general thanksgiving in England on the 1st of May for the restoration of tranquillity in India. It was not until the 1st of July that Lord Canning felt himself in a position to order a similar thanksgiving in India, and to appoint for it the 28th of that month.

tary operations have fairly ceased, and the rains and the climate, which would make a continuance of these operations much to be regretted, will do their work amongst the rebels who are still in arms in the Nepaul jungles more terribly than any human avengers.'

In replying to the principal topic of Her Majesty's letter, Lord Canning explained that, as honours in India had hitherto been generally accompanied by substantial gifts in land or treasure, it was impossible not to see that a mere grant of honours might not be appreciated, at all events by persons of a secondary position. He, therefore, felt keenly the obligation to be wary in advising Her Majesty to institute an honour which might come to be lightly esteemed. He had consulted some of the leading men in India, and finding much diversity of opinion among them, was pursuing his inquiries in the hope of being able to submit a complete scheme for Her Majesty's consideration.

'Respecting, however, the main features of that part of the scheme to which alone your Majesty's letter refers, Lord Canning entertains no doubt. He ventures to think it very advisable that your Majesty should institute a high Order of Knighthood, of which your Majesty should be Sovereign, and to which princes and chiefs of high distinction should alone amongst natives be admitted. He believes that twenty would be a quite sufficient number of members; probably more than sufficient if foreign princes should be counted as extraordinary members.'

Lord Canning went on to point out the difficulties in the way of bringing the members of the Order together, as suggested by the Queen, for the admission of a new member. Their distance from the seat of government, their mutual jealousies, the hazard of quarrels between their several escorts, the impossibility of satisfying them as to the amount of ceremonial courtesy to be paid to each, made this virtually impossible.

'It is to be feared that if ten or twelve of the leading princes of India were collected for a ceremony in which all were to join, it would be very difficult to instil into them that they could, without derogating from their dignity, merge for a time their individual family pretensions in their relationship as brothers of the same order or society. The feeling of equality or brotherhood, which lies at the bottom of all institutions of Western chivalry, is opposed to their prejudices and traditions; and, although this is no reason for not introducing such institutions amongst them, but rather the contrary, it does furnish ground for avoiding to press upon them—at all events, at first—any forms which would be unpalatable, and which would tend to set their feelings against honours which they must be taught to reverence.'

Lord Canning then made a suggestion, which was subsequently acted upon, that 'an infusion of English ordinary members on a limited scale would tend to raise the dignity of the Order in the eyes of all natives, without exception.' It would also prevent the possibility of the new Order being regarded as disparaging the two purely military Orders for natives which already existed in India, the Order of British India and the Order of Merit, the first for 'long, faithful, and honourable service,' and the second for 'personal bravery.'

All these and other considerations presented by the officials who were best acquainted with India were duly weighed, and resulted in the institution, on the 25th of July, 1861, of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. It comprises the Sovereign as Grand Master, and twenty-five Knights (European and native), exclusive of Honorary Knights. The first investiture took place at Windsor Castle on the 1st of November, 1861, when his Highness the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, Lord Clyde, Sir John Lawrence, General Pollock, and Lord Harris, were invested.

CHAPTER XCIV.

COMPACT as the party was, which was led by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, their strength in Parliament lay not so much in this, as in the divisions and want of cohesion of their opponents. These had in effect no leader. Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston were both bidding for that office. Each had his following, and on the question of Reform they had not been united in their policy. If this state of things continued, the Liberal party's chances of success in the appeal to the country were certain to be greatly diminished. On the night when Mr. Disraeli announced the intention of the Government to dissolve Parliament, Mr. Bernal Osborne, with his usual outspoken sagacity, called attention to this danger:—

'As long,' he said, 'as we have two noble lords who do not act in unison, but who are constantly striving which is to smell first at the nosegay, so long will there be honourable gentlemen on this side who will make excuse for voting with those who sit on the opposite side of the House. I therefore appeal to the patriotism of these two noble lords to come to some settlement of their differences. I believe the great Liberal party would be united, if that question could be satisfactorily solved. . . . I therefore call upon these noble lords to come to some understanding, before a general election takes place, as to which of them is to be our leader.'

The hint was not thrown away. Steps were taken for effecting a reconciliation between the rival chiefs, and with such success that, before the new Parliament met, they had

come to an agreement that whichever of the two was charged with the formation of a Government should receive the co-operation of the other.[1] Meanwhile the Ministry, though gaining upon the whole at the hustings, did not receive the accession of strength which they had anticipated. When the Prince wrote the following letter (12th May) to Baron Stockmar, it was already doubtful whether they would not find themselves in a minority at the close of the elections:—

'. . . Our elections have up to this time given the Ministry twenty-four additional votes—"too little to live, and too much to die with." Palmerston continues to be wholly French, thinks everything right which the Emperor does, and that we are all wrong in not going hand in hand with him. The country's feeling is entirely the other way, and its instincts sound; it asks leave to form a Volunteer Corps, and to be permitted to arm itself; this was granted yesterday. What the Austrians are about the gods only know. A gun that won't go off would be no bad device for them.

'Malakoff took leave of us with tears in his eyes, and sees nothing but mischief for his country in his master's policy. . . .

'Vicky is to come to us alone for the Queen's birthday on a visit for eight days. It could not be arranged otherwise just at present, and we must be very thankful for the visit, despite its brevity. The delight of seeing her again, after all she has gone through, will in these troublous times do us a great deal of good.

'The Prince of Wales reached Gibraltar on the 7th. He is to visit the south of Spain and Lisbon, and to return here the middle of next month, and in July and August to take up his head-quarters in Edinburgh for study. We are particularly pleased with Colonel Bruce.

[1] Mr. Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol ii. p. 154.

'May all be well with you! Old Humboldt will have caused you a pang.[2] In your ninety-second year you too shall have my permission to retire.'

The inaction of the Austrians, to which the Prince alludes, was everywhere noted with surprise. They had refused to wait, when in common prudence they ought to have done so, and now they made no move, when every one expected them to make a rush, and attack the Sardinians and French with their greatly preponderating force. The first detachments of the French were short of artillery, their ammunition and commissariat generally were still miserably defective, when they first came within striking distance of the Austrians, and they must therefore have fought with all the odds against them: But the Austrians, retiring when they ought to have advanced, did not attempt to molest their gathering forces, and quietly allowed them to go on strengthening their numbers and completing their equipments.

Nothing had in effect been done by the Austrians to turn to account the advantages with which they commenced the campaign, when the Emperor of the French reached Genoa on the 12th of May. The next day he issued a proclamation to 'The Army of Italy!' skilfully framed to excite their enthusiasm, and also to claim the sympathies of all who were weary of the ever recurring tale of oppression and misrule in Italy. 'We are about,' it said, 'to second the struggles of a people now vindicating its independence, and to rescue it from oppression. This is a sacred cause, and has the sympathies of the civilised world.' As so stated, the cause was no doubt a sacred one. But that this was felt throughout Europe to be scarcely an appropriate definition of the motives of some of its chief supporters was very plainly indicated

[2] He died on the 6th of May, 1859. Another European celebrity, of a very different order, Prince Metternich, aged 86, died the previous day.

by the measures of protection, to which every other State felt immediately called upon to resort. Germany mobilised the greater portion of her vast army, Denmark raised her forces to 70,000 men, Switzerland placed 100,000 men under arms, England strained every nerve to get her fleet into thorough fighting order, and the whole country set to work to organise an efficient Volunteer force. Russia, in the meanwhile, gathered no less than 200,000 men on the Austrian frontier, and in the neighbourhood of the Danubian provinces. Belgium alone, confident in her guaranteed independence, made no defensive move, and thus escaped the drain upon the national finances occasioned to the other States of Europe by the outbreak of a war, in which no one of them could feel sure that it might not ultimately become involved.

The Emperor of the French could not be insensible to the feeling of antagonism and distrust, of which these military preparations spoke so emphatically. That England would maintain absolute neutrality throughout the Italian conflict was certain. But it was by this time equally clear that Germany was not likely to do so.[3] The States of the Confederation

[3] No facts pass more quickly out of remembrance than the facts of contemporary history. In the interval between 1859 and 1870 it had been generally forgotten, that, at the period alluded to in the text, a powerful party in Germany was clamouring as loudly to be led to Paris, as the Parisians clamoured in 1870 to be led to Berlin. Alsace and Lorraine were to be annexed, and France to be crippled for the remainder of the century. On the 1st of June, 1859, an article from the *Allgemeine Zeitung* to this effect was published in *The Times*. Its tenor is sufficiently indicated by the following passage from *The Times*' criticism upon it:—'If we may trust the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which does not often speak without some authority, all Germany, from Cologne to Swabia, from the Baltic to the Euxine, is possessed by one unanimous uproarious enthusiasm for the conquest of Alsace and Lorraine, and for the occupation of Paris! Sober, steady-going old Germany is, we are told, dreaming quite seriously of some tremendous scheme of invasion, of which France is to be the victim, and we English are to be part agents in the work, but by no means participators in the gain.' The Courts where these ideas prevailed were told in most explicit terms by our Government, that, if Germany took part in the war, she would receive no assistance from England, and reminded that, without this assistance, her Northern coast would be exposed to France, and probably to Russia also.

were already demanding to be led to the support of Austria. Prussia, more discreet, and better understanding the danger which such a policy must involve, could nevertheless not venture wholly to dissociate herself from the prevailing sentiment of the North German States. She had accordingly made the French Ambassador at Berlin aware, that while she would not say that no territorial change must be effected by the war, she would not see with tranquillity any heavy sacrifice inflicted upon Austria, nor any change made which would enhance the strength of one Power at the expense of another. To localise the war, therefore, and to leave Austria and France with her ally Sardinia to fight it out alone, became a matter of vital importance to the Emperor of the French. If he succeeded in this, and Austria were defeated, she might naturally, in resentment at being deserted by Germany, stand aloof and leave the other States of the Confederation to withstand without her aid any attempt upon the Rhine, which France, flushed with victory, might afterwards make.[4] It was thus by no means clear, that it was for the interest of Germany that the war should be localised. To Russia, however, it was scarcely of less moment than to France that it should be so; for, if Germany embarked in it, Russia must declare her policy, and either break with France or with Germany. For neither event was she prepared, and she was moreover without either the men or money required for an active participation in such a war as must then have ensued.

With Europe divided, as we have seen, into Powers engaged in actual warfare, and Powers arming themselves to the teeth against the contingencies of a general war, the Emperor of the French might well view with some uneasiness the spirit

[4] Germany was well aware of what she might expect in the event of any signal success of the French in Italy. 'I accompany the Emperor to Italy with pleasure,' said General Espinasse, 'for it is the first step towards the Rhine.' Phrases of this nature travel fast.

which he had evoked by his crusade for Italian freedom. To stand well with England was never more important to him than at this moment, for he knew well how potential was her voice with the rest of Europe. On the 23rd of May, the Empress, who had been left behind in Paris as Regent, wrote in his name to congratulate the Queen upon her birthday. In this letter it was mentioned that the Emperor hoped to localise the war, for a general conflagration (*un embrasement général*) would be an incalculable evil for all the world. The Empress added that the Emperor and herself relied, that Her Majesty, who always had at heart whatever could tend to the peace of the world, would use her personal influence to attain this end, and that Prince Albert, 'whose influence is so great in Germany,' would do the same.

The Prince was probably amused to be told—what was certainly not the fact—that his influence in Germany was great, and that it might be used to localise the war. There was only one way of doing that with certainty, and this was to confine the war to the expulsion of the Austrians from Sardinia. But the Emperor had by his proclamations already given it larger bounds; and in replying to the Empress (25th May) the Queen could only indicate where the true solution of the problem lay, and remind her correspondent that the issues which the Emperor had raised might have the effect of bringing Germany into the field.

After thanking the Empress for remembering her birthday in the midst of so much to preoccupy her thoughts, the Queen went on to say:—

'You are right in believing me to be animated by the same sentiments as ever for the maintenance of the tranquillity and peace of the world, and I assure you no one could desire more heartily to spare the whole world what you call so justly an incalculable evil. Alas! my power in this respect is very

limited; it is not I, but the Emperor who is all-powerful to that end! Desirous, as you say he is, to localise the war, he may attain this object without fail by not carrying it beyond the territory of Sardinia, to whose assistance he has gone, after he shall have accomplished his task by delivering it from the Austrian invasion. If he in turn invade the Austrian States, it is only natural that Germany, alarmed at seeing one of the most important members of her Confederation attacked and in danger, should be impelled to come to her assistance, and that all Europe should take alarm at seeing the treaties put in question on which its peace and its existence rest.'

This letter was written at Osborne, to which the Court had gone on the 21st. The Queen and the Prince were met at Portsmouth on their way thither by the Princess Frederick William of Prussia, who had come from Berlin on a brief visit, and to join in the family reunion on Her Majesty's birthday. The Duchess of Kent was to have been at Osborne to celebrate the day, but was prevented from coming by an illness so sudden and serious as to cause the greatest apprehension. How serious this was may be seen by the following letter from the Queen to King Leopold:—

'Osborne, 25th May, 1859.

'A thousand thanks for your dear kind letter and good wishes for my birthday! Albert, who writes to you, will tell you how dreadfully our great happiness to have dearest Vicky, flourishing, and so well and gay, with us, was on Monday, and a good deal yesterday also, clouded over by the dreadful anxiety we were in about dearest Mama. Thank God! to-day I feel another being, for we know she is in a satisfactory state and improving in every respect. But I am thoroughly shaken and upset, for the shock came like a thunderbolt upon us, and I think I never suffered as I did these four

dreadful hours till we heard she was better. I hardly myself knew how much I loved her, or how my whole existence was bound up with her, till I saw looming in the distance the fearful possibility of what I will not mention. How I missed her yesterday I cannot say, or how gloomy my poor birthday on first getting up appeared. However, the danger is past, and, please God! with care, we shall see her restored to health ere long. . . .

'Dear Vicky is a most charming companion.'

Good accounts of the Duchess of Kent continued to arrive, but the stay at Osborne was nevertheless cut short, and the Court returned to London on the 26th. On the 28th the Prince writes to Baron Stockmar:—

'I can now give you really good news of Mama: the erysipelas is quite gone, and her appetite come back, only she still continues very weak. We were for some time, however, in great anxiety about her.

'We found Vicky very well, and looking blooming, somewhat grown, and in excellent spirits. The short stay here will certainly be beneficial both to her health and spirits.

'In politics things have not mended. The war in Italy is at a standstill, but every day the odds increase against Austria, who, in my opinion, plays her cards most unskilfully. The Russo-French *mot d'ordre* now is *localiser la guerre.* They hope in this way to tranquillise people's minds in Europe, and to make shorter work of Austria. The first Emperor writes to his son the Prince Eugène from the camp of Boulogne to Italy (just at the opening of the campaign of 1805), "*je vais donner une bonne leçon à l'Autriche, et après je reviendrai à mes projets.*" It does not do to ignore history altogether. Palmerston does so.[5] He seems to have

[5] Within a year no one became more distrustful of the designs of France than Lord Palmerston. At this period, however, he would probably have thought nothing more unlikely than that he should have occasion to speak of

settled matters with Lord John, and we shall therefore have an onslaught on the Ministry in the new Parliament immediately after the 7th of next month. . . .

'We get on tolerably well; much work and excitement, and constant east wind, lower the tone and keep the mucous membranes in a state of constant irritation.'

A few days afterwards (2nd June) the Prince again wrote:—

'Our Parliament was completed two days since, and is to be opened on the 7th. In Italy the Austrians have, up to this time, acquitted themselves in the field no whit more skilfully than they did in diplomacy! If they shall be expelled from their provinces, and the war continues localised, the public here will give strong expression to the feeling, that they must not be allowed to conquer these provinces again, in order again to make them miserable. . . .

'The French were taught by the experiences of 1813, '14, and '15, to keep quiet, and to this Europe owes forty years of peace; should they be again victorious, all Europe to the last man will have to try a fall with them. If every State has to do this single-handed, the chances are, they will all sustain material damage. This is true even of ourselves. The people see or rather feel it; the statesmen, so-called, on the contrary, take a pride in their own blindness, and show their activity in stupid phrases.

the Emperor of the French as he does in writing on the next 4th of November to Lord John Russell. 'Till lately I had strong confidence in the fair intentions of Napoleon towards England, but of late I have begun to feel great distrust. . . . He seems to have thought that he ought to lay his foundation *by beating with our aid, or with our concurrence or our neutrality, first Russia and then Austria, and by dealing with them generously, to make them his friends in any subsequent quarrel with us.*'—Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 187. Again, writing to Lord Cowley, in April 1860 (*ibid.* p. 182) he says: 'The Emperor's mind seems as full of schemes as a warren is full of rabbits; and, like rabbits, his schemes go to ground for the moment, to avoid notice or antagonism.' Had Lord Palmerston arrived at these conclusions a little sooner, what a world of trouble would have been spared to his country, his colleagues, and his Sovereign!

'Vicky's stay here has done her much good and us too. She is much matured physically and morally, and has all the elements of a distinguished character.'

The issue raised by the appeal to the country having clearly been, in which of the two parties—the Conservatives or the Liberals—it had confidence, it was reasonable and legitimate that the verdict should be tested without delay. Never was it more essential than now, that there should be a strong Government, strong in itself and in the confidence of the nation. Although the elections had resulted in the return of only 302 Conservatives as against 350 Liberals, it might be that, among those claimed by the Liberal party, there were a number sufficient to turn the scale, who would be indisposed to displace from office a Government, which was now known to have been most unjustly accused of encouraging Austria, and which had otherwise acquitted itself generally with credit. The only way to ascertain this was by a motion of want of confidence on the first opportunity. That this course should be taken was Lord Palmerston's view; but at the same time he let it be known that, if this motion failed, the Government ought, in his opinion, to receive a generous support for the remainder of the session. A meeting of the various sections of the Liberal party was held on the 6th of June, when it was arranged that a vote of no confidence should be moved by way of amendment on the Address. The meeting as a body declared a strong opinion in favour of absolute neutrality in the struggle which had commenced in Italy; and so great was the change in public feeling as to the French alliance, that Lord Palmerston found but a lukewarm support from those present for his views in favour of cementing it more closely than before.[6]

[6] Lord Cowley wrote to Lord Malmesbury (27th May) on the return of Count de Persigny from a short visit to London, 'Persigny seems very much

On the 7th of June Parliament was opened by the Queen in person. In the House of Lords the Address was carried without a division. In the House of Commons an amendment was moved, expressive of want of confidence, by the Marquis of Hartington, and seconded by Mr. Hanbury. After an animated debate, extending over three nights, the amendment was carried (10th June) by a majority of thirteen in a House in which no fewer than 643 members voted. Lord Derby immediately placed the resignation of his Cabinet in Her Majesty's hands.

The choice of his successor was a matter of no little difficulty. Both Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell had equal claims to the appointment, and Her Majesty was uninformed of the understanding come to between them, to which reference has already been made. It appeared to the Queen that an arrangement likely to be most agreeable to their feelings, and at the same time not unacceptable to their respective followers, would be one by which they could act under a third person. Lord Granville was accordingly sent for by the Queen, as a statesman in whom they had both been in the habit of placing confidence, and entrusted with the task of forming an Administration.[7] Autograph letters by the Queen to Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, explaining Her Majesty's views and

struck and disconcerted by the altered tone he found in England respecting his master.'

[7] Much surprise was excited by the appearance next day, in a leading article in *The Times*, of a very detailed account of what had passed in the Queen's first interview with Lord Granville. This was, of course, due to a violation of confidence, on the part of some of those with whom Lord Granville had communicated. Attention was called to this flagrant infraction of a well-understood rule by Lord Derby in the House of Lords (17th June), when Lord Granville expressed his deep regret for the occurrence. In this particular case no mischief resulted; but if the rule might be violated at will, the Sovereign would obviously be prevented from treating her Ministers with that unreserved confidence which can alone make a thorough understanding possible. Moreover, as noted by Her Majesty at the time, 'any Minister could state what he pleased, against which the Queen would have no protection, as she could not well insert contradictions or explanations in the newspapers herself.'

soliciting their co-operation, were, at the same time, placed in Lord Granville's hands. With Lord Palmerston he found no difficulty, and his lordship at once wrote to the Queen that he 'deemed it his duty to afford Lord Granville his assistance and co-operation in forming an Administration :'—

'Those who unite to turn out an existing Government,' he added, 'ought to be prepared to unite to form a stronger Government than that which is to be overthrown; and it was in this spirit, and with a deep sense of what is due by public men to your Majesty and to the country, that Viscount Palmerston and Lord John Russell, before they called the meeting at Willis's Rooms, came to an agreement to co-operate with each other in the formation of a new Administration, whichever of the two might be called upon by your Majesty to reconstruct your Majesty's Government. That agreement did not extend to the case of any third person; but Viscount Palmerston conceives that the same sense of public duty, which led him to enter into that engagement with Lord John Russell, should also lead him to give assistance to Lord Granville towards the execution of your Majesty's commands.'

Lord John Russell was not so tractable. He thought he could not give effect to his political views unless he was either Prime Minister or leader of the House of Commons. This was a fatal obstacle to the formation of a Ministry under Lord Granville, as Lord Palmerston would not go to the House of Peers, and could not be expected to resign the position which he had for some time held as leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons. Lord Granville therefore at once (12th June) abandoned the attempt, and Her Majesty transferred the task to Lord Palmerston.

By the 15th of June Lord Palmerston was able to submit a list of his Administration for Her Majesty's approval. Lord John Russell had stipulated for the office of Foreign Secretary, and Lord Clarendon, unwilling to undertake any other post, was thus lost to the Ministry. In other respects

the Ministry was very strong, and included leading men from all the sections of the Liberal party. Lord Granville, Lord Campbell, the Duke of Argyle, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Sir George Grey, and Sir Charles Wood represented the old Whigs; the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Elgin, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and Mr. Cardwell secured the adhesion of the Peelites; while the Duke of Somerset, Mr. Milner Gibson, and the offer of a place to Mr. Cobden—which, however, he declined—conciliated the more advanced Liberals.

By the 20th the Ministerial arrangements were complete, and on that day the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar:—

'Our new Ministry is formed and in office. It is looked upon as the strongest that was ever formed (so far as the individual talent of its members is concerned), and it is true, that, down to the most subordinate offices, important people have been appointed, as, for example, Irish Secretary, Mr. Cardwell; Secretary of the Treasury, Frederick Peel; Duchy of Lancaster, Sir George Grey, &c. &c. In this it contrasts greatly with the last Ministry. . . . On the other hand, that Ministry was compact, and the ranks of its 305 supporters were closed up like a battalion. . . .'

The Derby Administration, though beaten, were not discredited, and they left office satisfied that the Conservative party stood better with the country than it had done since its disruption in 1846. They were reported by their leaders, as we gather from a passage in the letter just quoted, to be in good heart and humour, grateful for the Sovereign's support and favour, satisfied with their late tenure of office and the numbers they had gained at the elections. They were consequently less eager for office, and likely to be more easily kept in hand by the distinguished champion, who had now fairly established their confidence by the way he had rallied their disjointed forces, and by the conspicuous eloquence and

skill with which he had fought the uphill battle of the last year. Their patience was destined to be very fully tested, for seven years elapsed before the party again returned to power, which they did for another brief period in June 1866, on the fall of the Ministry formed by Earl Russell after the death of Lord Palmerston in October 1865.

Strong as the new Ministry was, it held within itself a serious element of discord in the variety of views entertained as to English policy on the Italian question. The Queen's Speech and the Addresses of both Houses pledged the nation to 'a strict and impartial neutrality.' The enthusiasm for Italian freedom made it hard, however, for Lord Palmerston and the Secretary for Foreign Affairs to keep within the limits thus prescribed. All Mr. Gladstone's sympathies also were with Italy; so, too, were those of Mr. Milner Gibson. On the other hand, Lord John Russell did not share Lord Palmerston's confidence in the French Emperor, and in this Lord Granville, the Duke of Newcastle, Sir George Lewis, and Lord Elgin went with him. Sir George Grey, Sir Charles Wood, Mr. Cardwell, and the Duke of Argyle were entirely neutral upon the whole question. This balance of opinion in a Cabinet composed of so many able men was not without its advantage at a crisis when any deviation from a strict neutrality might have led to general confusion. It fairly reflected, moreover, the conflicting feeling of the country, divided between its desire to see Italy emancipated from the military and ecclesiastical despotism by which it had so long been blighted, and its grave distrust of the ulterior objects of those who had stepped forward to effect this emancipation.

Meanwhile events had advanced with startling rapidity at the seat of war. Wherever the Austrians encountered the French they had been beaten. At Montebello, Palestro, Magenta, Melegnano, they had been repulsed with heavy

loss, and on the 24th of June they sustained a crowning defeat at Solferino. But these French victories, especially at Magenta and Solferino, had been dearly purchased. The loss of ten thousand of his best troops at Solferino, the horrors of a campaign under a scorching sun, where battle had succeeded battle with so much rapidity, the prospect of a protracted struggle before the fortresses of the Quadrilateral, were of themselves enough to turn the Emperor's mind to thoughts of peace. While continuing his advance, therefore, he instructed his Ministers at home to endeavour to set England in motion to arrange the terms of an armistice. A basis for an arrangement was with this view submitted on the 6th of July by Count Persigny to Lord John Russell, with an intimation that if England approved it, and would ask for an armistice, the Emperor would at once grant it. Count Persigny's proposal included the surrender of Lombardy and the Duchies to Sardinia, the erection of Venetia into an independent State under an Archduke, and other conditions to which it was most unlikely that Austria would assent. The terms were communicated by Lord John Russell, without offering any opinion upon them, to the Austrian Ambassador, Count Apponyi, by whom they were rejected after communication with Vienna.

Neutrals as we had declared ourselves to be, it was obvious that we could not entertain Count Persigny's proposal. Austria had lost Lombardy, but she still held Venetia. How, then, could we ask her to surrender it? On the other hand, to have supported a proposal, so very far short of what Italy had been led to expect, would have drawn upon us the odium of that country. Moreover, as Lord Palmerston wrote (6th July) to Lord John Russell,—

'The scheme throws wholly out of the question the wishes of the Italians themselves, and we are asked to propose to the belligerents a parcelling out of the nations of Italy, as if we

had any authority to dispose of them. I cannot be a party to Persigny's scheme. If the French Emperor is tired of his war, and finds the job tougher than he expected, let him make what proposals he pleases; but let them be made as from himself, formally and officially, and let him not ask us to further his suggestions and make ourselves answerable for them.'[8]

Finding England immovable, the Emperor determined to act for himself, and next day (7th July) sent General Fleury to the Austrian camp with propositions for an armistice. He had many reasons for desiring a termination to the campaign. Hitherto victory had declared itself upon his side; but the issue of the struggle in Venetia, protracted as that struggle was sure to be, might damage his hitherto untarnished laurels. There was, moreover, every prospect that further French successes would bring Germany into the field, and in that event he was now aware that he could not count upon the support of Russia.[9] The spread of the revolution in the Duchies, and the active measures of Cavour to secure their annexation to Sardinia, was an incident on which he had not calculated, and one that ran counter to his policy. The action of his allies within the Papal States also, from which the Emperor of Austria had withdrawn his troops in June, and which had immediately risen in revolution, was likely to bring him into embarrassing collision with the Pope, and to alienate the support of the clergy at home. His army was becoming discontented with its losses, and alarmed with the increase of sickness in its ranks. It was, moreover, dissatisfied with its allies, and disgusted, as that of Charles Albert had been in 1848, with the apathy of the Italians to the cause, for which it had been proclaimed they were ready to rise as

[8] Mr. Evelyn Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol ii. p. 160.

[9] 'The Emperor questioned Schouvaloff much as to the chance there was that Russia would make war upon Prussia if the latter declared against France. The answer was, "*None in the world.*"'—*Letter from Colonel Claremont to Lord Cowley.* Valeggio, 5th July, 1859.

one man. At home people were crying out that the war was a war 'without an object,' and asking what was to be the equivalent for so formidable an expenditure of men and money. On the other hand, Austria might be made a friend in the future by the concession of moderate terms to her now; and as the other Powers of Europe had refused to support France in her enterprise, the Emperor no doubt felt himself free to bring it to a close without previous consultation with them. Add to this, that the Emperor was a kind-hearted man. Upwards of one hundred thousand men had been either killed or seriously wounded in the struggle, and horror at a further sacrifice of life and limb for a doubtful result was not likely to have been without effect in determining his resolution, even although it was obvious that such a peace as he could alone hope to obtain would leave the problem of the future of Italy very much where he found it, and, while disappointing the hopes which he had raised, could in no way promote the permanent interests of France.

An armistice for seven days was signed on the 8th of July, and an arrangement made, on the invitation of the Emperor of the French, for a meeting between himself and the Emperor of Austria upon the 11th. Again (10th July) Count Persigny sought the active intervention of England by the way of 'moral support' to a demand by France, to be made at the interview next day, of terms practically identical with those formerly suggested, and which included the separation of Venetia from the Austrian Empire. To this request Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell were disposed to accede; but a different view was taken both by Her Majesty and by the Cabinet, and Count Persigny's request was accordingly declined in time for him to telegraph to the Emperor the failure of his application.

It was fortunate this course was taken, for, had it not been taken, the distinction between moral and material sup-

port in such matters is too fine to have saved England from the imputation of having departed from 'a strict and impartial neutrality.' Moreover, as the event showed that, while the French Emperor was not disposed to insist upon the cession of Venetia, the Emperor of Austria would have continued the war rather than give way on this point, we should have found ourselves in the ignominious position of urging Austria to accept worse terms than she was able to obtain single-handed from her victorious enemy. For by the agreement concerted between the Emperors at Villafranca next day, Austria was to retain Venetia, her sole concession in regard to it being that it was to become one of a Confederation of Italian States, to be presided over by the Pope as honorary President. Lombardy was given up, but it was stipulated that the Dukes of Tuscany and Modena should be reinstated. At the same time Austria seems to have come under a loose kind of verbal understanding not to use force for the purpose, which her Emperor said would not be necessary. He refused, however, to sign the copy of the Preliminaries sent to him, in which it was positively declared that recourse should not be had to force.[10] The point was not pressed by the Emperor of the French, who was under the impression, that the Duchies would be ready to take back their sovereign without demur.[11]

The announcement of this arrangement took the world by surprise. It satisfied no one but the Emperors themselves. Austria gained rather than lost by being free of Lombardy,

[10] This is stated, obviously upon authority, by Lord Cowley, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, 4th of September, 1859.

[11] It seems that, once in the presence of his Imperial brother, the Emperor of the French found himself unable to press for the terms which he had come to the interview prepared to demand. A few days afterwards he said to Prince Metternich: '*J'ai eu bien raison d'avoir redouté l'entrevue avec sa Majesté l'Empereur, votre souverain, car j'étais bien sûr qu'elle me subjuguerait.*' On the other hand, the Emperor of Austria was greatly impressed by the tact, the graceful bearing, the clearness of mind, and the considerate delicacy of the French Emperor.

and the Emperor Francis Joseph, in a manifesto issued three days afterwards, declared that 'he had accepted peace only after being convinced that he could obtain more favourable terms by direct negotiation with the Emperor of the French, than those to which the three neutral Great Powers were likely to give their moral support as a collective project of mediation.'[12] On the other hand, the Emperor of the French, in his proclamation announcing the peace to his army, affirmed that 'the principal object of the war was attained: Italy will for the first time become a nation.' And he added, in words which proved in the end to be true in a way he could not have foreseen: 'Italy, henceforth the mistress of her own destinies, can only blame herself, if she does not steadily advance in order and in liberty.' To France he vindicated the step he had taken, on the ground that the war was assuming a magnitude no longer in proportion to the interests which she had in the war. The plea was accepted, but the wits of

[12] It appeared from this, that the Emperor had been led to believe that not only England, but Russia and Prussia also, were prepared to give their 'moral support' to the terms suggested by Count Persigny to the English Government. A point which to this hour remains unexplained is, what was the evidence on which the Emperor of Austria acted. On the 11th of July the Emperor of the French wrote to him: '*Ayant fait connaître les premières propositions que j'avais adressées à votre Majesté, non-seulement les Cabinets de Londres et de St.-Pétersbourg ont déclaré être prêts à les soutenir très-vivement, mais le Gouvernement Prussien a fait dire que, si l'Autriche refusait, elle ne devrait plus compter sur son concours ni matériellement ni moralement.*' Against his copy of this letter, the Prince Consort has written: 'Quite untrue, as nobody knew anything of these stipulations.' On the 12th of July the Emperor of Austria wrote to the Emperor of the French:—'*Je remercie votre Majesté de la preuve de confiance qu'elle me donne en me faisant part de l'acceptation par les trois Cabinets de ses premières propositions.*' These letters very soon became known at head-quarters in England, Prussia, and St. Petersburg. But, even if they had not, it was impossible to leave without notice the Emperor of Austria's words quoted in the text. Accordingly Lord John Russell, in a Despatch (27th July) instructed Lord Augustus Loftus, our Ambassador at Vienna, to give a formal denial to the statement, that England had adopted any terms as proper to be submitted to Austria. A similar denial had previously been given by the Prussian Government through Baron Werther, their representative at Vienna.

Paris summed up the general feeling in the phrase, '*La France a fait une superbe guerre, et l'Autriche a fait une superbe paix.*'

The King of Sardinia, who had not been consulted,[13] had no alternative between carrying on the war alone, or accepting the terms which had been concluded. He adopted the latter course, marking his vexation by adding after his signature to the document, '*je ratifie cette convention en tout ce qui me concerne.*' No middle course, however, was open to Count Cavour. He was stunned by this termination to the high hopes engendered by the promises at Plombières, and by the successes of all his plans up to this point. He would have nothing to do with a peace in which he knew there were no elements of stability. Accordingly he at once placed his resignation in the King's hands, and left the camp for Turin. His chagrin was shared by the whole Liberal party throughout Italy; but he had raised a spirit in the Duchies and the Papal States, which was not to be quelled, and which set itself to work out his project of a Northern Italian kingdom, and succeeded in doing so, in defiance of the settlement agreed upon at Villafranca.

By the Germans the sudden close of the war was received with something akin to dismay. They had before them the prospect of the French army returning flushed with victory, and probably bent on seeking fresh laurels upon the Rhine, while Austria, incensed at being left unsupported in her recent struggle, might withdraw the assistance on which the Confederation might otherwise have relied. Under this apprehension

[13] On this point, however, there is a difference between the statements made at the time by the King of Sardinia, and Count Walewski on behalf of the Emperor, which is quite irreconcilable. The King protested that he knew nothing of the preliminaries of peace until they were concluded, and that he signed them as the only means of preventing a rupture. Count Walewski, on the other hand, assured Lord Cowley, that the King had urged the armistice, and had been even more in favour of peace than the Emperor himself.

they were now inclined to resent on Prussia her interference to prevent them from making common cause with Austria, while Prussia, on the other hand, felt herself discredited in the eyes of the States, of which she aspired to be the central and the leading power.

In England the general feeling was unquestionably one of disappointment that so heavy a sacrifice of human life had been made to so little purpose. The Italian question, as the Prince wrote to a friend (16th July), 'is not brought a bit nearer its solution, and the Confederation with the Pope at its head sounds like a bad joke.' None were more deeply disappointed than Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell. Some days before (7th July) the latter had written to the Queen:—'The Emperor must either give independence to Italy, or be stigmatised as the betrayer of the Italian people.' On hearing of the peace (13th July) Lord Palmerston, whose hitherto unbounded confidence in the Emperor of the French was now rudely shaken, wrote to Count Persigny protesting in the strongest language against its terms.[14] He pointed out that, by becoming a prominent member of an Italian Confederation, the footing of Austria in Italy was more firmly established than before. Austria, he added, 'ought, on the contrary, to be strictly excluded from all right of interference, political or military, beyond her own frontiers. If this be not done, nothing is done, and everything will very soon have to be begun all over again.' The inference was perfectly just. But to tell a belligerent, who had two days before concluded a peace, that he ought to break the conditions on which he had obtained it, was surely not the business of the Prime Minister of England.

[14] See this letter printed at pp. 161 *et seq.* of Mr. Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. ii. The reasoning of the letter is unanswerable; but the French Emperor and his Government might fairly resent being told, in such warm terms, that French blood had been profusely shed in vain.

In returning (18th July) to Lord Palmerston a copy of his letter to Count Persigny, Her Majesty wrote as follows:—

'The effect of placing Austria in an Italian Confederation will certainly be to legalise that influence for the future, the supposed illegal exercise of which was put forward as one of the reasons for the late war; yet it is one of the conditions of peace bought by much blood and the loss of a rich province by Austria. We did not protest against the war, and Lord Palmerston personally wished France success in it. We can hardly now protest against the peace, and Lord Palmerston will, the Queen is sure, see the disadvantage which would accrue to this country, should he make it appear as if to persecute Austria were a personal object with the first Minister of the Crown.

'The Queen is less disappointed with the peace than Lord Palmerston appears to be, as she never could share his sanguine hopes that the "*coup d'état*" and "the Empire" could be made subservient to the establishment of independent nationalities, and the diffusion of liberty and constitutional government on the Continent. The Emperor follows the dictates of his personal interests, and is ready to play the highest stakes for them, being himself entirely uncontrolled in his actions. We are cautious, bound by considerations of constitutional responsibility, morality, legality, &c. Our attempts, therefore, to use him for our views must prove a failure, as the Russian peace has already shown. This should be kept steadily in mind when the question of the Congress comes to be considered, in which we are probably intended to supply the Emperor's shortcomings.'

There can be no doubt that it was in the hope that England would press for a Congress, which would effect some kind of settlement of the Italian question, and supersede the

arrangement of Villafranca, that the Emperor was now seeking to procure our assent to one, upon the plea that it had always been his wish that a regulation of the Italian question should be the act of united Europe. The extreme warmth with which Lord Palmerston denounced any measure short of the expulsion of Austria from Italy must have quickened the Emperor's hopes, that England would rescue him from the embarrassing position in which he was at this moment placed. What he heard from all sides, within a few days after signing the preliminaries of peace, had made him painfully conscious that the settlement of Villafranca was in truth no settlement. This was, however, scarcely a reason for interference on the part of England. While making a barren declaration of adherence to the Treaties of 1815, she had stood looking quietly on while they were being broken, and broken, moreover, for the advantage of France—the Power which at that moment she dreaded more than any other in the world. France had taken upon herself the burden of a cause with which all the sympathies of England unquestionably were in unison, but for which she was not prepared, as a nation, to spend either men or money. Finding the task she had undertaken quite beyond her means, France had now suddenly paused in her course, asserting that she had opened up for Italy a way to freedom, of which it lay with herself to reap the advantage. In doing so, she had, no doubt, thrown the whole Italian peninsula into a state of confusion, to which the other States of Europe could not be indifferent. But, however strongly the English Government might feel and regret this, it was impossible for them to hold the language used in Lord Palmerston's letter to Count Persigny, unless England were prepared to go to war with Austria to do what France had already failed in doing. This beyond all doubt she was not; neither, if she were so prepared, could the Emperor of the

French have joined her with honour, after accepting the conditions agreed to at Villafranca.

The situation was unquestionably perplexing. 'The Emperor Napoleon,' Her Majesty wrote to Lord John Russell (13th July), 'by his military successes, and great apparent moderation or prudence immediately after them, has created for himself a most formidable position of strength in Europe. It is remarkable that he has acted towards Austria now just as he did towards Russia after the fall of Sebastopol. But, if it was our lot then to be left alone to act the part of the extortioner whilst he acted that of the generous victor, the Queen is doubly glad that we should not now have fallen into the trap to ask from Austria, as friends and neutrals, concessions which he was ready to waive.'[15] Her Majesty's satisfaction at having escaped this danger was naturally much increased when the Government learned, as they did within a few days, that Austria would have fought to the last extremity rather than concede one inch of ground which she had not already lost. Perplexing as the situation was to Europe generally, every day was likely to make it more perplexing to the Emperor of the French, for every day would show more clearly how impracticable was the scheme of pacification to which he had agreed. For the present there was nothing to be done on the part of England but to wait for the development of events.

In the midst of the anxiety to which the new phase of the Italian question had given rise, the Queen and Prince were profoundly grieved by the tidings of the death from diphtheria of the young Queen of Portugal, who but a year before (*supra*, p. 219) had impressed them with the deepest admiration for her rare qualities of mind and person. On

[15] The letter from which this extract is made was read to the Cabinet next day, and Lord John Russell wrote to the Queen: 'The Cabinet concurred very much in the opinion stated by your Majesty.'

the day the intelligence was received the Queen wrote to King Leopold:—

'Osborne, 19th July, 1859.

'You will, I know, share our deep sorrow at this terrible catastrophe at Lisbon. It is a misfortune of so distressing and hopeless a kind, destroying the peace and happiness of poor young Pedro in one moment, crushing his young and already so serious and melancholy life, and carrying off a pure angel who was made for him, and who was too pure and good for this world! But there he is isolated—all gone, nothing left, not a child, not anything to live for! It breaks my heart to think of him, and of their dear excellent parents. That poor delicate mother, who had already felt the separation so seriously,—that truly excellent father, who must already be so weighed down by difficulties and anxieties![16] One must bow down and submit, trusting and feeling sure that all is for the best—the *why* we cannot comprehend. You will, I am sure, dear uncle, understand that this dreadful event has thrown politics much into the background, for, after all, what are they in comparison to *such* grief and desolation?'

Writing, the following day, to his daughter at Berlin, the Prince speaks of the same sad event:—

'Before I thank you for your dear letters of the 13th and 16th, I must to you also give a vent to my grief for the death of the excellent Stephanie, so sudden as it was. What a woeful and unlooked-for, and, in its probable consequences, annihilating calamity for poor Pedro! Nothing has made me so sad for many a day, and I cannot get out of my mind the lovely vision with the angel look in her eyes. I am infinitely grieved, too, for the poor parents. What a blow for them! Even before this the poor Prince must have been

[16] The Prince von Hohenzollern, it will be remembered, had since November 1858 been the head of the Prussian Ministry.

much oppressed by the responsibility which rests upon his shoulders, and now this trouble! I tremble for Pedro, whose deficiency in vivacity and cheerfulness, amid the earnestness and zeal with which he addressed himself to the business of his station, found its only compensation in his home happiness with his dear young wife, and so sensitive as he is too! As yet we know merely that the newly discovered malignant affection of the throat was the cause of her death.'

From the Prince's letters to the same correspondent at this time we extract two very characteristic passages:—

'Royal personages, to whom services are being constantly rendered, often forget that these involve all sorts of sacrifices to those who render them, which, if those to whom they are rendered would only keep their eyes open, might be obviated and spared. But it is just the most faithful servants and the worthiest friends, who are most silent about their own affairs, and must therefore be thoroughly probed before we get at the truth.'

'. . . He will turn out an altogether wretched man if he live long enough, which I doubt his doing; for without the love of others man cannot be happy, and one must himself be capable of loving, and must love, in order to be loved.'

In his letters to Berlin the Prince takes especial pleasure in telling of the quaint sayings and doings of little Princess Beatrice. Thus we find him writing a few days later:—

'The little aunt makes daily strides, and is really too comical. When she tumbles, she calls out in bewilderment, "She don't like it, she don't like it!" and she came into breakfast a short time ago (with her eyes full of tears) moaning, "Baby has been so naughty, poor baby so naughty," as

one might complain of being ill, of having slept badly, &c. How much sound philosophy lies in this expression; the child felt she was not responsible for her naughtiness, and regarded it rightly as a misfortune for the "I," which appears to her still as a third person, that is, as something outside herself (*als Object*).'

CHAPTER XCV.

WHAT war and rumour of war in Europe import, in the shape of encroachment upon the fund which every citizen has to spend, was brought vividly home to every British household by the financial statement made by Mr. Gladstone to the House of Commons on the 18th of July. His calculations showed an estimated revenue of 64,340,000*l.* against an estimated expenditure of 69,207,000*l.* This deficit had been caused by exceptional outlay in our naval and military establishments, and it was proposed to be met chiefly by raising the Income Tax from fivepence to ninepence in the pound on all incomes above 150*l.* a year. Heavy as this increase was, its necessity was admitted, and the Budget passed with practically general approval. The country was determined to be secured against all contingencies, and, being so, it was not disposed to grudge the price at which this security could alone be obtained.

Not many nights before, Lord Lyndhurst, then in his 88th year, had spoken with undiminished force and fervour, in the House of Lords, of the duty of strengthening our defences with no sparing hand. It was on herself, and on herself alone, that England, as he showed, must rely. We did not stand well with the Continent of Europe, and recent events had not improved our position in this respect.

'If I am asked,' he went on to say, 'whether I cannot place reliance in the Emperor Napoleon, I reply with confidence that I cannot, because he is in a position in which he cannot place

reliance on himself. He is in a situation in which he must be governed by circumstances, and I will not consent that the safety of this country should be placed on such contingencies. Self-reliance is the best road to distinction in private life. It is equally essential to the character and grandeur of a nation. . . . The question of the money expense sinks into insignificance. It is the price we must pay for our insurance, and it is a moderate price for so important an insurance. I know there are persons who will say, "Let us run the risk!" Be it so. But, my Lords, if the calamity should come, if the conflagration should take place, what words can describe the extent of the calamity, or what imagination can paint the overwhelming ruin that would fall upon us!'

It was such thoughts as these that reconciled Englishmen to a most serious addition to their burdens, but, while they did so, strengthened their bitterness of feeling towards the author of their apprehensions. On the other hand, the Emperor of the French, personally and by his Ministers, did his utmost, after the Italian campaign, to persuade the English Government that his intentions were purely pacific, and that he intended to place his forces by land and sea upon a peace footing. In a conversation with Lord John Russell (20th July) Count Persigny followed up a statement to this effect by expressing his wish, as an earnest of his sincerity, for a Commercial Treaty between Great Britain and France, by which France might be enabled to diminish her protective duties. He was ready to have the plan of such a Treaty drawn up, and this plan, Lord John Russell replied, he should be ready to consider. A few days afterwards (26th July) a semi-official article appeared in the *Moniteur*, asserting that the increased burdens laid on the English people for 'National Defences' were not due to France, but were caused solely by extravagant misapprehensions as to French designs.

No abatement of the English mistrust was, however, produced by these and similar representations; and the

Emperor reverted to the subject in an interview with Lord Cowley at Chantilly. What then took place is reported as follows to Lord John Russell (7th August):—

'More than once, in the course of the evening,' Lord Cowley wrote, 'His Majesty reverted to the state of public opinion in England with regard to himself. He asked whether there was any change for the better, observing that he could not comprehend the suspicions entertained of him—that he had done nothing to provoke them, and that they were most unjust. The idea of his invading England was, he said, so preposterous that he could laugh at it, were it not evident to him, that there were people in England who seriously believed it.

'I replied, that an agent must never shrink from telling the truth, however disagreeable, and I must admit, therefore, the existence in some minds of the suspicions to which His Majesty had referred; nor could I say, that I saw much diminution of them as yet. There were many causes which had given rise to them—His Majesty's sudden intimacy with Russia after the Crimean War—his sudden quarrel with Austria—the equally sudden termination of the war, which made people suppose that he might wish to carry it elsewhere—the name he bore, with its antecedents—the extraordinary rapidity with which the late armaments had been made—the attention devoted to the Imperial navy—its increase—the report of the Naval Commission of 1848, which showed plainly that the augmentation of the navy was directed against England. All these matters had made people look about them, and their eyes had been suddenly opened to the fact, that within easy reach of the British shores were 500,000 men, with a steam fleet as powerful, or more powerful than any that could be brought against them. This state of things had created a great deal of alarm; more, perhaps, than was necessary. But a great nation could not leave her fate to the chapter of accidents, and we were in fact merely resuming that place by sea, which we had before the invention of steam. "In fact, Sire," I said, "the whole question lies in a very narrow compass. England and France are the two most powerful nations of the world. Neither can, nor will submit to the supremacy of the other. France is a military Power. England, as compared to France, is not. England is a naval Power. So is France.

If the balance of power between them is to be preserved, England must be the stronger by sea, as France is by land, otherwise England would be at the mercy of France."

'The Emperor somewhat disputed the justice of these remarks, observing that his 500,000 men were required to hold his position upon the Continent, and that I had not taken into account the insular position of Great Britain, which made her, as it were, a large fortress. But upon my observing, that an insular position was of little value, unless there was a fleet to keep off marauders, his Majesty said he would not dispute the point any longer; but all he hoped was, that our press would not pervert facts, and say that the extra armaments of England were called for by the armaments of France, *for it was not true that France had armed.*

'I did not pursue this delicate matter further, but I said I was convinced that it was in His Majesty's power, if he desired it, to recover the confidence of England. Let him appeal to the common sense of the English people by facts rather than by words, and he would soon see common sense get the better of suspicions. The Emperor replied, that he desired no more, and that, if he had spoken on the subject, it was because he was afraid that the feelings of the British people would arouse the corresponding sentiments in France, and this was not desirable.

'I defy any one to listen to the Emperor,' Lord Cowley adds, 'when he is speaking of the English Alliance, without attaining the conviction, that the preservation of it is that which he has most at heart. I feel equally certain, that he does not dream of a war with England, and that his *amour propre* is wounded by our suspicions of his intentions; but, as I observed to him, no man can tell what unforeseen circumstances may produce, and that it is not so much with the events of the day, as with the possible contingencies of the future, that we have to deal.'

The Emperor of the French had every reason to desire to stand well with England at the present moment; for it was to her he looked to extricate him from the dilemma in which he had placed himself by the hastily adjusted peace of Villafranca. That peace had concluded the war, but it had left all the questions undecided for which the war had been

waged. What prospect was there that the inhabitants of the revolted Duchies or of the Romagna would agree to a Confederation of States, of which Austria would of necessity be the most influential, and in which the hated element of ecclesiastical interference would be perpetuated by the nominal presidency of the Pope? No sooner were the terms of peace known, than the Duchies declared they would not receive back their sovereigns; neither would the Romagna resume her allegiance to the Pope, who on his part showed himself less disposed than ever to be coerced into measures of reform. In the arrangement of Villafranca, the wishes of Italy,—of an Italy bent upon regulating her own destinies for the future,—had been left out of consideration. Naturally, therefore, she refused to be bound by that arrangement, and was not to be cajoled into acquiescence in it. The Emperor, however, had tied himself hand and foot by the preliminaries of peace against taking further action, in the only direction which could have satisfied the national aspirations. He was, therefore, anxious to get the whole question of Italian reorganisation and reform taken up by a European Congress, on which, if it failed to resolve the problem, the burden of the discredit might be thrown, which now rested upon himself.

Acting upon this view, immediately on his return to Paris, he broached the proposal of a Congress in the only quarter, where he had reason to think, from the avowed opinions of the head of the Ministry, and of the Foreign Secretary, it would be warmly entertained, because there the disappointment was most keenly felt at the inconclusive results of the Italian campaign. Accordingly, on the 18th of July, Count Walewski wrote to Count Persigny, instructing him to bring the subject under the notice of the English Government. The Emperor, he said, had all along wished to see the Great Powers uniting in a definitive arrangement of the affairs of Italy, and he

hoped, therefore, that they would now meet, either in Congress or in Conference, to come to an understanding upon all the questions arising out of the actual state of that country, and bearing upon the general interests of Europe.

A letter the same day from Lord Cowley to Lord John Russell threw further light upon the Emperor's purpose. Count Walewski, in the course of a long interview, had informed him, that the Emperor was most anxious for a Congress. By this time, however, it was understood that in the negotiations at Villafranca the Emperor of Austria had decisively objected to this idea. Lord Cowley, therefore, asked Count Walewski, whether, after what had occurred, the Emperor of the French was not under an obligation not to press such a proposal. To this Count Walewski replied that, out of motives of delicacy, his master might not like to propose, but that he was at perfect liberty to agree to, a Congress, if proposed by any one else.

'"But," I asked,' wrote Lord Cowley, '"supposing Austria were to refuse to attend a Congress, what will you do?" "We shall be ready to attend one without her!" was the reply.

'I remarked, that to settle an Italian Confederation and Papal reforms without Austria, if Austria were to be a member of the one and to recommend the other, was very like acting the play of Hamlet without Hamlet. Count Walewski agreed in this, but seemed to hope that Austria would give way on this point, notwithstanding she had declared, as I recalled to his recollection, that she would not associate herself with a non-Roman-Catholic Power in giving advice to the Pope.'

On reading Lord Cowley's letter, Her Majesty (20th July) wrote to Lord John Russell as follows:—

'The Queen has read Lord Cowley's letter with much interest. She does not think that it furnishes material sufficient to justify this country in embarking on the dangerous experiment of a Congress on Italian affairs. England has been

enabled to remain clear of the war, and is still more happily clear of the peace which terminates it.

'Both were undertaken and completed without the intervention of England, or consultation with her. The desire on the part of France to use her now for the purpose of solving the complications which she has brought about, or to serve as a scapegoat for their being left unsolved, is both obvious and intelligible. . . . Two Emperors, who were at war with each other, have suddenly concluded personally a peace, and we have before us merely the account of one of them through his Minister. This Minister's account admits, that his master pledged his word on certain points, but thinks it not binding, if England will propose its being broken. This is a duty which honour forbids us to undertake.

'The two Emperors have bound themselves in the Treaty "to ask the Pope to introduce indispensable reforms." Have they done so? And are they prepared to show the Pope's answer? They engaged "to favour an Italian Confederation of which the Pope is to be the head." Have they communicated with the different States on the subject, and ascertained their willingness? Without these two preliminary steps they cannot ask Europe to carry their scheme into effect, and, in fact, only one of them asks for it, after having promised the other that he would not do so. . . .'

Pledged as England was to absolute neutrality, it was felt by the Queen and Prince, that too much care could not be taken not to do anything which might seem to be at variance with this pledge. The belligerents having fought out their quarrel, and come to terms, it would have been obviously incompatible with our attitude as neutrals, to treat upon the execution of the peace with one of them, without having heard the other. If a Congress was to be of any use, it could only be so by imposing conditions

upon Austria more onerous than those she had obtained from France. The sentiments of Lord Palmerston and of Lord John Russell in regard to these terms were well known, and had been already complained of by Austria as those of an adversary. For England, therefore, to have taken a prominent part in urging a Congress would have been at once to embroil her with Austria, and to have incurred the risk of driving that Power to seek, in an intimate alliance with Russia and Germany, the means of resistance to the pressure of her opponents. By the following letter from the Prince to Baron Stockmar the anxiety may be judged, which was felt at the Palace, lest the two leading Ministers should be carried into some imprudence by their enthusiasm for the Italian cause:—

'I have an absolute yearning to be able to hold converse with you; were it but by one little line, now and then, if you would only write it, or have it written to me. We live in sorely trying times. The unexpected peace has led to much which every one who was able to look ahead must have anticipated; Prussia quite discredited, Germany endangered, Italy discontented, the French army left in a bloodthirsty humour, the Emperor Napoleon almost compelled to compensate himself by new manœuvres (*Streiche*) for his moderation, Austria thrown into his arms, and made revengeful against Prussia and England, Russia overjoyed, the hands of the Pope and the Ultramontanists strengthened. All this might be endured, but the position of England is in danger of becoming dishonourable. Palmerston is furious about the position of Austria, and Lord John about the way Italy has been deceived. The former is even bent on taking vengeance on Austria, and, very unwisely, wants to use the Emperor Napoleon for the purpose, and to force him to recall the concessions which he has made. The latter is

anxious for a Congress in London, where he may play the liberator and benefactor of Italy . . . What the Emperor wants is a Congress, not a Confederation; and it is for England to effect this.'

The answer to be returned to the French proposal formed the subject of grave deliberation by the Cabinet. It could never suit the dignity of England to meet in Congress merely to register the agreement of Villafranca. Neither could it be supposed, that we should be allowed to alter its conditions, and to outbid France in popular measures for Italy. What the Emperor of the French avowedly wanted was to get rid of the Confederation scheme, without seeming himself to violate his obligations to the Emperor of Austria. But there was no evidence that Austria was of the same mind, or prepared to accept any modification of the Villafranca agreement. Indeed all that was known of her determination pointed to an exactly opposite conclusion.

This being so, the Cabinet decided that it was premature to deal with the question, until the preliminaries of peace had been reduced to the form of a Treaty, as it had been stipulated they should be, by plenipotentiaries of Austria and France, who were to meet forthwith at Zürich for the purpose. When their labours were at an end, it would be known whether or no such alterations had been assented to, as would remove some or all of the palpable defects of the preliminaries. If then Austria waived her objections to a Conference,[1] and Russia and Prussia were desirous that it should take place, the English Government would not interpose

[1] Of this there was very little prospect, for within the next few days it was ascertained, that, while the Emperor Francis Joseph remained of the opinion that no Congress was necessary, yet he would not oppose it, if desired by France: but only provided 'that the Congress was not to pronounce on any of the stipulations which must form part of the Treaty of Zürich.' This was Austria's answer, as reported (4th August) by Count Walewski to Lord Cowley.

obstacles to the generally expressed wish of Europe to arrive by this channel at a solution of the Italian complications. In the meantime it was thought best to delay giving any opinion on the questions with which the Treaty of Zürich would have to deal.

The Queen, on being informed of a decision which was entirely in accordance with the views she had herself expressed, wrote (24th July) to Lord John Russell:—'With this step' (the execution of the Treaty of Zürich), 'Austria and France will have redeemed the promises which the two Emperors may have made to each other, and the expression of our opinion will then no longer have the appearance of an attempt to urge one of them to break these promises to the other. The Queen will be most happy if anything can be done by this country to improve the condition of Italy. Sir James Hudson's letter stating that Count Cavour is in dread of an alliance of the three Emperors, which he hopes that constitutional Italy, led by England, may successfully resist, shows the danger of driving Austria by the apparent hostility of England absolutely into the arms of the two other Emperors, and Lord John will admit that Count Cavour's resistance to such an alliance would have a poor chance, even if led by England.'[2]

The suggestion of a Congress led to a lengthened debate in the House of Commons (8th August), on a motion of Lord Elcho for a Resolution condemning the policy of taking part in any Conference for the purpose of settling the details of a peace, the preliminaries of which had been

[2] Cavour, who had resigned some days before (14th July), called on Sir James Hudson, our Ambassador at Turin, on the 20th July, before leaving for Chamounix. 'He said, the danger England and Constitutional liberty in Europe now has to encounter will arise from an alliance between France, Austria, and Russia . . . . He thinks the Constitutional States may hold their own against this Alliance, provided England will lead them.'—*Letter, Sir J. Hudson to Lord John Russell*, 20th July, 1859.

arranged between the Austrian and French Emperors. The proposed Resolution, as Lord Russell said, 'asked the Crown not to do a thing, which it had never been asked to do by anybody, and which there was not the smallest intention to do.' Lord Palmerston denied that any approbation had been given to the proposal of Count Walewski for a Conference. The Government, he added, were not proposing to go into a Conference at all, but if they did, it would not be to upset the arrangements of 1815. The House was satisfied with these assurances. Feeling, no doubt, that to bind the Ministry not to go into a Conference might not only be impolitic, but also discourteous towards the other European Powers, it showed no disposition to support Lord Elcho's motion, which was withdrawn, having served its purpose of eliciting from the Ministry a statement of the course which they had decided to pursue.

Five days afterwards (13th August), Parliament was prorogued by Commission, after a session too brief and broken to be productive of important legislation, and the Queen and Prince were free to seek fresh air and rest in a short excursion to the Channel Islands. To the Prince these little marine excursions were a source of much enjoyment. He had become a fairly good sailor, and, besides the comparative rest enforced upon him by the absence of the hourly distractions of his life on land, sea air acted as the best of tonics upon his constitution. During his stay at Osborne, where the Court had been since the 10th of July, the Prince had added to his other labours the preparation of an Address, which he had undertaken to deliver in September as President of the British Association. That he found it no easy task is apparent from what he says in the following letter (10th August) to his daughter in Berlin:—

'To-day we have the Council for the prorogation of Par-

liament (my blessing go with it!) and we intend to go on board in the evening to try our fortune on the sea for two or three days. By rights we were to have gone yesterday, and been back on Friday, but the mere mention of the subject produced a north-east gale, which has howled and raged since the day before yesterday without intermission. . . .

'We think of moving northwards on the 29th. In Aberdeen, on the 14th of September, the British Association for the Promotion of Science are looking forward to me (horror of horrors!) as President; and what is more, from that functionary they expect an opening Address. I read thick volumes, write, perspire, and tear what I have written to shreds in sheer vexation. A quite charming addition to my usual occupations.'

After a three days' run, in which Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney were visited, and the fortifications in progress at the last of these places were inspected by the Prince, Osborne was reached on the 15th. More than the usual number of despatches were awaiting the Queen's attention. In these and the completion of his Address to the British Association the Prince was at once immersed. On the 18th he wrote to Baron Stockmar:—

'I have no time to-day to write, but as I have not had any for some days past, and see little prospect of having any for some days to come, I will just say, that we are well, which I know is a matter of sincere interest to you, and express my daily wish, that it may be well with you also. The Duchess of Kent celebrated her seventy-third birthday yesterday, with quite youthful animation. She stayed at the fête, which was thoroughly rural, with games and dances in the open air, from four till half-past seven, and seemed to be well amused and not to be at all tired in the evening.

'In Guernsey you were brought forcibly to my thoughts.

How long is it now since we were there together? Fourteen years! We have not been there since, and we were received with as much enthusiasm as then! Our voyage back, however, was as stormy as our voyage then was, if you remember what that was like.

'In politics no change of any kind has taken place . . . The difficulties in the way of carrying out the peace are naturally very great, and do not need any intermeddling on our part, which, moreover, would be sure to avert the responsibility for the misfortunes which result from it from the real culprits, and to throw it upon us.

'I am at work upon the Address for the Aberdeen Meeting, which is a very stiff task for me. On the 29th we purpose to break up for Scotland.

'P.S.—The letters of King Pedro from Lisbon are heart-rending, but his loss was indeed fearful. Stephanie's appearance, I think, made a deep impression upon you as it did upon us. She was truly a most distinguished person.'

The Cabinet, as we have shown, had decided that there should be no intermeddling in the affairs of Italy, until the Treaty of Peace was signed at Zürich. The negotiations there proceeded very slowly; and, indeed, it was not till the 10th of November that they were completed, and the preliminaries of Villafranca were reduced to official shape in two separate Treaties. It had been obvious from the first that the Duchies would not take back their sovereigns, and that the Romagna would follow their example. They were bent on being annexed to Sardinia, as the Power on whom they could alone rely to vindicate the national cause; and the unanimity of feeling, as well as the powers of self-government, which they had shown since the deposition of their former rulers, proved that they were not likely to be shaken from this resolution.

True, it was irreconcilable with the stipulations of Villafranca; and if the Treaty to be signed at Zürich were to ratify these stipulations, what would happen? The problem, however, was not of our making. It was not, therefore, for us to solve it; but for those by whom the difficulty had been created.

This was what the Cabinet desired. They, in common with the Queen and the Prince, would have rejoiced to see a free and strong Italy. But England had declared she would take no part in the Italian war. Now, that war was not over until the peace was concluded, and it was our first duty to do nothing to prevent it from being formally ratified. Whether the peace of Zürich was or was not to be prolific of future strife depended on many contingencies. In the meantime it was not for England to raise difficulties which might make peace impossible, by pressing on either Austria or France schemes for a settlement of Italy, which were inconsistent with what these Powers had already concerted between themselves. If in their own interests they could not arrive at a modification of their agreement adequate to the necessities of the case, the promptings of a third party were likely to be of little avail. The danger to England might even become serious, if these promptings had the effect of producing a state of things in Italy, which might 'force Austria and France to make common cause against her, and, backed by the rest of Europe, to isolate England, and make her responsible for the issue.' These were the words of the Queen in writing to Lord John Russell on the 23rd of August, and Her Majesty added: 'It will be little satisfaction then to reflect upon the fact, that our interference has been merely *advice*.'

These words had been drawn from the Queen by a proposal of Lord John Russell's to submit to the French Government a scheme for the settlement of Italian affairs, which implied that they should not ratify the preliminaries of Villafranca.

When the drafts of the Despatches embodying this proposal were submitted to Her Majesty, she wrote (24th August) to Lord John Russell: 'If these drafts have any meaning or object, it must be to show to France, that it would be her interest to break in the Treaty of Zürich the leading conditions to which she pledged herself to Austria at Villafranca.

'Those preliminaries contained but three provisions affecting Austria. 1. That Austria was to cede Lombardy. 2. That an Italian Confederation should be encouraged, of which Venetia was to form part. 3. That the Dukes of Tuscany and Modena were to return to their Duchies.

'The two latter clauses must be considered as compensation for the losses inflicted in the first. Both the latter are now to be recommended by England, a neutral in the war, to be broken.

'Now either it is expected that our advice will not be listened to, in which case it would not be useful, and hardly dignified, to give it, or it is expected that France will follow it. If, on finding herself cheated, Austria were to feel herself obliged to take up arms again, we should be directly answerable for this fresh war. What would then be our alternative? Either to leave France in the lurch to re-fight her own battle, which would entail lasting danger and disgrace on this country, or to join her in the fresh war against Austria—a misfortune from which the Queen feels herself equally bound to protect her country.'[3]

In this expression of opinion the Queen considered she was

[3] How correctly Her Majesty estimated the position of affairs appears from a Despatch of Lord Cowley's to Lord John Russell next day (25th August), in which, reporting an official interview between Count Walewski and Prince Metternich, he mentions that the Prince had told Count Walewski, in so many words, 'that under no circumstances would his Government recognise the new order of things [in the Duchies], and that the least they had a right to expect of France was that she should follow the same course.'

merely carrying out and protecting the resolution of the Cabinet to abstain from action until the Treaty was signed at Zürich. Only, however, by a reference to the Cabinet could the difference between the Foreign Secretary and herself be satisfactorily determined. The Cabinet accordingly met (29th August) and decided on adhering to their former resolution. How much pain and anxiety a discussion of this nature cost both the Queen and the Prince need not be said. In a letter to his daughter at Berlin written the same day (24th August) as that from the Queen just quoted, the Prince ascribes an attack of illness mainly to this cause:—

'For two whole days,' he wrote, 'I was unfortunately not quite well, and I am not right yet. I have had a choleraic attack, accompanied with great *malaise*, which it will take some time to shake off. I believe worry about political affairs . . . is chiefly to blame for it.'

The 26th, the Prince's birthday, always a fête-day in the Royal household, was troubled with conferences on the Italian imbroglio. 'We had, alas,' the Prince notes in his Diary, 'discussions during the day with Lord Palmerston.' As the Prime Minister was no less impatient of quiescence in the affairs of Italy than the Foreign Secretary, discussion was useless about what was in effect a radical difference of view as to what the Cabinet had or had not already decided. Grave issues were, however, at stake, and these were certain to press themselves upon the Prince's attention, even among the many tokens of affection and regard from far and near which that day always brought him.

The next day he writes to his daughter, acknowledging her birthday gift:—

'The finest present which you can make me is that which you have made—the assurance that you are happy. Fain

would I have embraced you that day! Beatrice was charming at table in the evening for the first time. . . .'

The same day the Queen and Prince had gone to Portsmouth to inspect the 32nd Regiment, the heroes of Lucknow, who had just returned from India.

On the evening of the 29th the Court left Osborne for the Highlands, and after spending a day and night in Edinburgh, reached Balmoral on the 31st. On the 3rd of September the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar:—

'I write to-day once more from Balmoral, where we arrived on the evening of the 31st. We travelled for the first time by night, straight through from London to Edinburgh, in order to gain a day for that place. The experiment proved a complete success, and the Queen was not at all tired. We are sensible, however, of the rapid change of temperature. We left Osborne with 70° Fahrenheit, and the air sultry, and found in Edinburgh only 40°, with a violent gale blowing. Here, too, it is fearfully cold. Balmoral looks, however, very pretty, and all the new grounds would certainly please you.

'In Edinburgh I had an Educational conference with all the persons who are taking part in the education of the Prince of Wales. They all speak highly of him, and he seems to have shown zeal and good will. Dr. Lyon Playfair is giving him lectures on chemistry in relation to manufactures, and at the close of each special course he visits the appropriate manufactory with him, so as to explain its practical application. Dr. Schmitz (the Rector of the High School of Edinburgh, a German) gives him lectures on Roman history. Italian, German, and French are advanced at the same time; and three times a week the Prince exercises with the 16th Hussars, who are stationed in the city.

'Mr. Fisher, who is to be the tutor for Oxford, was also in Holyrood. Law and history are the subjects on which he is to prepare the Prince. Alfred left us in London, and reached Paris the same time we arrived in Edinburgh. We have already heard from Marseilles that he had sailed for Malta. His ship is to return at the end of February, and he will then prepare for his confirmation at Easter. He is previously to pass his examination as midshipman. When eighteen, that is, two and a half years hence, he will become lieutenant. The service is really very hard, but he continues to take great pleasure in it.

'Our work is hard enough too . . . Last month we had come to a complete deadlock, and had to request that the whole Cabinet should be convened from all the ends of the earth, in order that we might get, through an expression of its opinion as a body, some assurance that the principles agreed upon between it and the Queen should be upheld, and we succeeded. . . .

'With our difficulties also in regard to the Indian Army we have not made any way. The whole English troops of the old Company have mutinied, and 6,000 men have asked for and received their discharge. Notwithstanding this, the Indian Council is calling for more English regiments, which are not to belong to the regular army, or to recognise the Commander-in-Chief as their head, but are to be appointed and commanded by the Council direct.'[4]

The mutinous outbreak in the local European forces in India, to which the Prince refers, had been the subject of

[4] Baron Stockmar's reply to this letter was very brief. It found him suffering under one of his severe fits of depression. On the 14th of September he wrote: 'Feeble but sincere thanks for the continuing proofs of your kind thought of me. Increasing weakness is wearing away my already so greatly enfeebled powers, and so I hope soon to be able to hunt with the Landjägermeister Wangenheim in those fields to which, as I have just heard, he preceded me two days ago.'

serious anxiety to the Indian Government. On the transfer of the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown, these forces contended that they were under no obligation to continue their services without fresh enlistment and fresh bounty as soldiers of the Crown. Happily, before this occurred, tranquillity had been restored throughout the Indian Continent, but the spirit shown by the local forces revealed a serious danger, and helped materially towards the passing in the following year of the Act which put an end to the distinction between the local European army and the Queen's forces.

The re-affirmation by the Cabinet of its decision not to interfere in the affairs of Italy proved to be well timed. On the 23rd of August Lord Palmerston had written to Count Persigny, urging that the clause of the preliminaries of peace at Villafranca relating to the Duchies ought not to find a place in the Treaty of Zürich; and that it was in the interest of France that the Duchies should be annexed to Sardinia. This letter was forwarded to Count Walewski, and was by him discussed with Lord Cowley. If the article respecting the Duchies, Count Walewski said, were to be omitted, there would be no treaty of peace at all. To refuse Austria's claim to have it inserted would be virtually to resume a state of hostilities, for there would be no cession of Lombardy if a peace were not signed, and this was a state of things to which the Emperor was not prepared to subject himself. With regard to the annexation of the Duchies to Sardinia, the establishment of a kingdom with twelve millions of inhabitants on the French frontier could not, Count Walewski contended, be considered an advantage to France. If such an annexation were effected, then France would be obliged to demand the cession of Savoy to herself, and what, he asked, would Her Majesty's Government say to that?

Lord Palmerston's letter was a private rather than an official communication. But its effect at head-quarters in

Paris was soon apparent in the language of Count Walewski to our Ambassador there. Tuscany was now pressing annexation on Sardinia; and on the 3rd of September Lord Cowley found Count Walewski 'under some anxiety, real or feigned, that the negotiations at Zürich would come to an untimely end, and that Austria would again take the field.' Count Walewski then told him that he could not understand the policy of the English Government, encouraging Sardinia, on the one hand, as he was credibly informed, to annex Tuscany; on the other, declaring officially that they would take no part in a Congress of which Austria was not a member. But, he went on to say,—

'It was certain that, if the King of Sardinia consented to the annexation, Austria would neither sign a Treaty of Peace with Sardinia, nor would she appear at a Congress. There would then be a deadlock in the affairs of Italy; and, if Austria took up arms against Sardinia, he did not think that France would consent to make further sacrifices to prevent her, unless she were sure of obtaining some compensation for these sacrifices. If, however, Her Majesty's Government were prepared to assist France in dislodging Austria altogether from Italy, and to take up arms for that purpose, the whole question would assume another aspect, and under those circumstances he did not say, that the Emperor would not reconsider his decision, which he had now taken, not to recommence the war. I replied,' continues Lord Cowley, from whose letter (4th September) we quote, 'that I did not believe that Her Majesty's Government had given the advice to which he had alluded, for that I knew from you privately, that you had declined counselling Lajatico, when he questioned you on the subject. Walewski rejoined, that others then spoke in your name without authority.'

No sooner was Lord Cowley's letter made known to the Queen than Her Majesty wrote to Lord John Russell (8th September), expressing extreme uneasiness at its contents. The Cabinet had again and again decided not to interfere by active advice with the Peace to be made at Zürich. Lord

Palmerston's opinion might not have been officially given; but the danger of such private communications had lately been unpleasantly illustrated by the use made at Villafranca of similar expressions of individual opinion to Count Persigny. These had been transmitted to the Emperor, and employed at Villafranca as implying assent by England to certain conditions of peace with a desire of pressing them upon Austria, when in truth no opinion had been expressed by the Government to justify such an inference (see *supra*, p. 460). Who could say what use might not be made of the views of Lord Palmerston to justify action, of which it would be impossible for either the nation or the Government to approve? The hint about the annexation of Savoy was full of significance; and in writing to Lord John Russell Her Majesty did not fail to draw his attention to it:—

'Count Walewski's version of the stipulations of Villafranca,' Her Majesty wrote, 'with reference to the means to be employed to restore the Archdukes, does not preclude the possibility of France sanctioning the employment of force by Austria. There is, indeed, an alarming alternative suggested by him; viz. the joining of England with France for a war to drive Austria out of Italy altogether. France might fairly claim our joining for this purpose, if by our advice Austria is driven to resume arms.

'For the Duchies France reserves to herself two contingencies, as the result of *our* preventing the restoration of the Archdukes—either the establishment of a kingdom of Etruria for Prince Napoleon, or the acquisition of Savoy *as compensation to France* for the annexation of the Duchies to Sardinia. Both objects were suspected at the outset of the war, but the Emperor thought it impossible to accomplish them. It would be a curious ending of the transaction, if he could plead that they were forced upon him by England as

the only escape out of the difficulties she raised, leaving him, besides the gain, a good grievance against England!'

The warning proved in the sequel to be prophetic, and when, a few months afterwards, Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell were vehement in their protestations against the annexation of Savoy by France, they were reminded in peremptory language by the French Government, that they had been distinctly warned, that this would be the price of the annexation of the Duchies to Sardinia, and that they had therefore no right to complain of what they must have been prepared to expect.

A letter from the Prince a few days later (13th September) to his daughter in Berlin, embodies his views on the political situation in both Germany and Italy:—

'I am for Prussia's hegemony; still *Germany* is for me first in importance, Prussia as Prussia second. Prussia will become the chief if she stand at the head of Germany: if she merely seek to drag Germany down to herself, she will not herself ascend. She must, therefore, be magnanimous, act as one with the German nation (*Deutsch handeln*), in a self-sacrificing spirit, prove that she is not bent on aggrandisement, and then she will gain pre-eminence, and keep it. Sardinia is an example worthy to be noted. "L'Italia" is the rallying cry of that State: *for Italy*, not for herself, has she already borne the brunt of three perilous wars. For Italy's unity and greatness the other petty States vote their incorporation with Sardinia as the only State that can realise and uphold the Italian idea. Austria and France permit Sardinia to have Lombardy (perhaps even more), but they attach to it the condition that the King shall go on calling himself *King of Sardinia*, for they feel that in the word "Italy" would lie a mightier power than in the acquisition of even great and wealthy provinces. . . .'

The Prince had spoken to the same effect, in writing to his brother the Duke of Saxe-Coburg a few days before (9th September). His words afford the best evidence, that it was from no want of sympathy with the Italian cause that he upheld so firmly as he did the decision of the English Cabinet to keep aloof from the Italian imbroglio for the present.

'Austria,' he wrote, 'must be shown, that in an united Germany under the lead of Prussia lies her only protection against her two enemies, France and Russia,—and that it is not Prussia that is her especial enemy. That Prussia, unless she stand as the acknowledged head of Germany in diplomacy and in the field, can lead in neither, is an old proposition which no longer requires to be demonstrated. Sardinia has achieved for herself the leadership of Italy, because on three several occasions she has fought, and fought bravely, for Italy, with self-sacrifice, and at imminent hazards, without making counter stipulations for herself. Where Sardinia has established claims on her country's gratitude, Prussia has merely set up pretensions to it. Even now her Liberal statesmen show themselves *covetous* only, and not *courageous*.'

Passing from politics to family news, the Prince concludes the letter to his daughter of the 13th September, just cited, as follows:—

'Bertie arrived here the day before yesterday; yesterday we had the Gillies' Ball, at which Arthur distinguished himself, and was greatly applauded in the Highland reels; next to Jemie Gow he was the "favourite in the room."

'Sir George Grey leaves us now, Lord Elgin having come to release him. . . . He was a great comfort to Mama in her political vexations. Philippe [Count of Flanders] is to arrive this evening; to-morrow noon I go to Aberdeen.'

CHAPTER XCVI.

'ALBERT left me yesterday morning for his great undertaking at Aberdeen, which, I have heard by telegraph, went off extremely well. He returns to my joy this evening again. I feel so lost without him.' So wrote the Queen on the 15th of September to King Leopold. That and the previous day had been devoted by Her Majesty to ascents to Morven and Lochnagar. They were as successful as magnificent weather could make them. (See *Leaves from a Journal*, pp. 172–5.) But the Queen's eyes were 'with her heart, and that was far away' in the grey metropolis of the North; and mountain and correi, sky and cloudland, lost something of their charm from the absence of him whose sensitiveness to whatsoever was beautiful or grand in nature made him the most delightful of all companions in a mountain ramble.

During his visit to the British Association Meeting, the Prince stayed at the house of Mr. Thomson, of Banchory, about five miles from Aberdeen. Here he was met at dinner on the 14th by the Duke of Richmond, Lord Rosse, Sir David and Lady Brewster, General and Mrs. Sabine, Sir Roderick Murchison, Professor Owen, Professor Phillips, and others. After dinner the whole party drove to Aberdeen, where the Prince delivered his inaugural address to an audience of 2,500 people. It occupied fifty minutes in delivery, and was more elaborate than any of his former addresses. Having no pretensions to being an explorer in science, or even to having kept pace with its more recent discoveries,—although few

men not specially devoted to science were better informed in this direction than himself,—the Prince confined himself to general principles, and a comprehensive statement of the main object of the Association, in advancing the arrangement and classification of what he called 'the universe of knowledge.' The address will always possess peculiar interest for men of science, because of the keen sympathy which it shows with their pursuits, and for what it did in quickening the interest in them of both the public and the Government. It would be out of place to dwell upon it in detail; but some portions may be cited here, as throwing light upon the character of the speaker.

The opening sentences, inspired by the modesty of true knowledge, bracing itself under a sense of duty to a task from which it would otherwise have shrunk, were well calculated to conciliate the respectful attention of the most critical audience :—

'Gentlemen of the British Association,—Your kind invitation to me to undertake the office of your President for the ensuing year could not but startle me on its first announcement. The high position which Science occupies, the vast number of distinguished men who labour in her sacred cause, and whose achievements, while spreading innumerable benefits, justly attract the admiration of mankind, contrasted strongly in my mind with the consciousness of my own insignificance in this respect. I, a simple admirer and would-be student of Science, to take the place of the chief and spokesman of the scientific men of the day, assembled in furtherance of their important objects!—the thing appeared to me impossible. Yet, on reflection, I came to the conclusion that, if not as a contributor to, or director of your labours, I might still be useful to you, useful to Science, by accepting your offer. Remembering that this Association is a popular Association, not a secret confraternity of men jealously guarding the mysteries of their profession, but inviting the uninitiated, the public at large, to join them, having as one of its objects to break down those imaginary and hurtful barriers which exist

between men of science and so-called men of practice—I felt that I could, from the peculiar position in which Providence has placed me in this country, appear as the representative of that large public, which profits by and admires your exertions, but is unable actively to join in them; that my election was an act of humility on your part, which to reject would have looked like false humility, that is like pride, on mine. But I reflected further, and saw in my acceptance the means, of which necessarily so few are offered to Her Majesty, of testifying to you, through the instrumentality of her husband, that your labours are not unappreciated by your Sovereign, and that she wishes her people to know this as well as yourselves. Guided by these reflections, my choice was speedily made, for the path of duty lay straight before me.'

With much felicity the Prince introduced the name of Alexander Humboldt, then recently dead, as illustrating what he had said of the work done and doing by the Association in bringing together the results of scientific inquiry, and establishing their interdependence and relation to each other:—

'If,' he said, 'the activity of this Association, such as I have endeavoured to describe it, ever found, or could find, its personification in one individual—its incarnation, as it were—this had been found in that distinguished and revered philosopher who has been removed from amongst us in his ninetieth year, within these last few months. Alexander von Humboldt incessantly strove after dominion over that universality of human knowledge which stands in need of thoughtful government and direction to preserve its integrity; he strove to tie up the *fasces* of scientific knowledge, to give them strength in unity. He treated all scientific men as members of one family, enthusiastically directing, fostering, and encouraging inquiry, where he saw either the want of, or the willingness for it. His protection of the young and ardent student led many to success in their pursuit. His personal influence with the Courts and Governments of most countries in Europe enabled him to plead the cause of Science in a manner which made it more difficult for them to refuse than to grant what he requested. All lovers of

Science deeply mourn the loss of such a man. Gentlemen, it is a singular coincidence, that this very day on which we are here assembled, and are thus giving expression to our admiration of him, should be the anniversary of his birth.'

Not less happy were the words in which the Prince brought his address to a close:—

'These meetings draw forth the philosopher from the hidden recesses of his study, call in the wanderer over the field of science to meet his brethren, to lay before them the results of his labours, to set forth the deductions at which he has arrived, to ask for their examination, to maintain in the combat of debate the truth of his positions and the accuracy of his observations. These meetings, unlike those of any other Society, throw open the arena to the cultivators of all sciences, to their mutual advantage: the geologist learns from the chemist that there are problems for which he had no clue, but which that science can solve for him; the geographer receives light from the naturalist, the astronomer from the physicist and engineer, and so on. And all find a field upon which to meet the public at large,—invite them to listen to their reports, and even to take part in their discussions,—show to them that philosophers are not vain theorists, but essentially men of practice—not conceited pedants, wrapt up in their own mysterious importance, but humble inquirers after truth, proud only of what they may have achieved or won for the general use of man. Neither are they daring and presumptuous unbelievers—a character which ignorance has sometimes affixed to them—who would, like the Titans, storm heaven by placing mountain upon mountain, till hurled down from the height attained by the terrible thunders of outraged Jove; but rather the pious pilgrims to the Holy Land, who toil on in search of the sacred shrine, in search of truth—God's truth—God's laws as manifested in His works, in His creation.'

The way in which the address was received, first by the audience, and afterwards by the general public, gave the Prince much pleasure. He had dreaded failure, and it proved to be a complete success. Nor were such fears unnatural, written,

as it was, when his mind was torn with anxiety about the state of Europe, and too much exhausted with following the devious windings of diplomacy, and watching the movements of the great game of contending ambitions at home and abroad, to be free for the calmer studies which would have been a fitter prelude for the task.

Scarcely had he returned, when a fresh source of anxiety pressed upon the Queen's attention and his own. Tidings of the disastrous repulse of our ships in the Peiho river reached Balmoral on the 15th. They were so serious, that Lord Elgin, then Minister resident at Balmoral, went at once to London to attend a Cabinet meeting. He returned on the 21st, but came back to London on the 23rd, accompanied by Lord John Russell, who was spending the autumn with his family at Abergeldie. A fresh expedition to enforce the fulfilment of the Treaty of Tien-tsin was then decided on, and carried out in conjunction with the French, with the results which we have already explained (*supra*, p. 307).

On the 20th of September, the Prince writes to his married daughter, who was then making holiday in the Tyrol:—

'You inhale mountain air, drink mountain water, thrill with mountain feelings, perhaps even play upon the "Jebirgsjidarre!" Most heartily do I rejoice at this change for you to the mountains from the mind-levelling monotony of the sand plains. Look up that lovely passage in *The Bride of Messina*,[1] where the chorus speaks words which I have forgotten, but which vibrate in my heart: "*Hier oben allein*

[1] This is the passage here referred to:

Auf die Bergen ist die Freiheit! Der Hauch der Grüfte
Steigt nicht hinauf in die reine Lüfte.
Die Welt ist vollkommen überall,
Wo der Mensch nicht hinkommt mit seiner Qual.

On the mountains there is freedom! The breath of the grave
Ascends not to where the pure breezes lave,
The world is all perfect everywhere,
That man comes not with his struggle and care.

ist's wohl, wo der Mensch nicht hinkommt mit seiner Qual," or something to that purpose.

'Philippe [Count of Flanders] has hitherto tried in vain to bring down a stag, but "mussed" [*Aberdonicè* for "missed"], and Grant has pronounced the appalling sentence on him that "he is just nae good at all;" he heaps on himself modest reproaches, "*qu'il donne tant de peine à tout le monde sans résultat.*" Bertie shot a stag at the Dhu Loch. The day after to-morrow the Aberdeen philosophers, two hundred strong, come to a Highland gathering with us.'

Unfortunately for the 'philosophers,' the weather, which had previously been perfect, proved capricious. The day was stormy, with occasional showers. These alternated, however, with sunshine, and were not sufficient to mar the pleasures of the Highland fête and games, which the Royal hosts had prepared for their guests. These lasted from two to half-past-five, when the Queen retired. 'We watched from the window,' Her Majesty writes (*Leaves from a Journal*, p 179), 'the Highlanders marching away, the different people walking off, and four weighty omnibuses filling with scientific men. . . . Much pleased at everything having gone off well.'

The autumn was fine, and the Prince was able to follow his favourite sport of deer-stalking with success. Several long excursions were also made along with the Queen to points of interest, the details of which have been recorded in Her Majesty's *Leaves from a Journal.* The chief of these was an ascent of Ben Muich-Dhui, a height of 4,297 feet, made on the 7th of October, along with the Prince of Wales and the Princess Alice. On the 11th the Prince sends his usual budget of news to Baron Stockmar:—

'We have once more reached the close of our Scottish *séjour;* two days more, and we shall be sitting in the railway train *en route* for the south. Our stay here has, as usual,

done us good, and the leave-taking will be again a great trial, especially to the Queen. She has been particularly well, cheerful, and active. Our last expedition was the greatest we have undertaken in the Highlands—the ascent of the highest mountain in the British Islands, Ben Muich-Dhui—and it turned out extremely well, considering the lateness of the season. The Prince of Wales and Alice were with us. The former leaves Balmoral when we do, and is to accompany us in an excursion which we make from Edinburgh to Loch Katrine, for the purpose of opening the great waterworks for the city of Glasgow, of which the inhabitants of Glasgow and the Western Highlands are very proud. From there he goes direct to London to pack up his things, and on to Oxford on the 17th.

'Alice comes out admirably, and is a great support to her mother, Lenchen [the Princess Helena] is very distinguished, and little Arthur amiable and full of promise as ever. From Osborne we have good accounts; the two children are quite well, and Mama [the Duchess of Kent] makes no complaints, and is said to be looking well.

'Dr. Baley, [Sir James] Clark's substitute, is here just now, and we like him very much; he will travel back with us, Clark staying on at Birkhall for another week.

'The Duke of Newcastle is here as Minister; Lord John left Abergeldie yesterday, and goes back by way of Haddo, where he is to visit Lord Aberdeen, to London. Not a single word has dropped about Reform; but that we are sure to have now. In the Italian affair there has been a lull for the last month. The Emperor Napoleon must be sick of the business, and wish Italy in the seventh hell. Meanwhile there is nothing left for him but to sup his broth to the last spoonful, if we are not such noodles as to do it for him. He is said to be extremely incensed at Austria for not making his task easier, and continues fairly shut in

betwixt his assassins, the old Italian Carbonari, and the Pope and the French priesthood. The promises of Genoa and the assurances of Villafranca still remain, as before, in unreconcilable opposition.

'The Chinese affair is very serious, for France will send, merely as our ally, 15,000 to 20,000 men, and through Egypt! and in Eastern Asia will be looked on as the stronger Power.

'We could not, truth to say, spare many troops from India, and the English regiments of the old Company have discharged themselves "in mutiny," because they would not serve the Queen without new enlistment and bounty. Nevertheless we cannot bring the union of the Army to bear, and the old Indians here . . . are anxious for the formation of a new, separate English local army, which is not to acknowledge the supreme command of the Commander-in-Chief.'

The ceremony of opening the Glasgow Waterworks on the 14th, at Loch Katrine, to which the Queen and Prince, accompanied by the Princesses Alice and Helena, went from Edinburgh, was marred by heavy rain, which fell throughout the day. The Works were upon a grander scale than any waterworks in the kingdom, and it was not without reason that the citizens of Glasgow were proud of them. To adopt a scheme, costing about a million and a half, and of which one of the features was a tunnel 2,325 yards long, eight feet in diameter, and 600 feet below the summit of the mountain which it traversed, and a series of seventy smaller tunnels, measuring in the aggregate thirteen miles, showed that the courage of the community was equal to their intelligence, in selecting the very best source of supply on which a great and growing city could depend. The Royal visitors returned the same day to Edinburgh. Next day they pro-

ceeded by way of Chester to visit Colonel Douglas Pennant (now Lord Penrhyn) at Penrhyn Castle, near Bangor, where the Prince notes in his Diary that they met with a magnificent reception. During their stay the Prince visited the great Penrhyn slate quarries; and the singing by the workmen of some of Händel's and other choruses at Penrhyn Castle one evening is spoken of in the same record with warm praise. On the 17th the Queen and Prince reached Windsor Castle.

The fine autumn had been followed by an early and severe winter. By the 24th of October the whole country was bound with intense frost; and in a hurried visit to the Prince of Wales at Oxford on the 26th, the Prince seems to have caught a chill, which, on the 29th, compelled him to keep his bed on that and the following day—a thing which he had never done, since his marriage, except during an attack of measles. It was the 3rd of November, before he was able to leave his room. On that day, he wrote to Baron Stockmar, fearful lest some exaggerated report of his illness might reach his friend:—

'I write to-day, being in the way of rallying from a gastric attack, under which I have been suffering for the last fourteen days, and which kept me for two days in bed. You know the state in which you have often seen me when here, and are indeed yourself a sufferer from the same malady. The only new symptom I had was violent cramp at the pit of the stomach, which lasted very sharply for two hours at noon, several days running. Clark, who had stayed behind in Scotland, came back on Sunday. He is now quite satisfied with me, and I am able to-day to move about the house. I write you these details, in case you should hear the wrong end of the story in some roundabout way. I have absolutely nothing to reproach myself with, and can think of no cause for my illness, but the sudden incredible change of tempera-

ture of the last fortnight. I hope it may have done you no harm! We have had a number of deaths here—all of your acquaintances—Lord Jersey, young Lord Jersey, Lord Westmoreland, Lady Peel!—all of one family.

'We are expecting a visit from Fritz and Vicky, and shall also see your son, at which I am much pleased. He will be able, too, to tell me about you, and so will Lady Ely, who has gone to Coburg expressly to see you.'

The old physician, himself so broken in health, that he had almost ceased to write, shook off his apathy on hearing of an illness, which to him was full of significance as evidence of what overwork of brain and body was doing. That repose which, in the following letter, he desires for the Prince was the thing of all others which the Prince's temperament would not have allowed him to take, even if he could have obtained it:—

'8th November, 1859.'

'The illness of which your Royal Highness has sent me word has disquieted me, and made me very sad. Among its causes I reckon the worries both of body and mind to which you are daily exposed, the unusual heat of the year, and also the great strain on your strength, as well as the sudden changes in weather, from which in Scotland you could not escape. The unfortunate thing, moreover, about your illness is, that while your position is constantly exposing you to the risk of having your health deranged, it makes it no less difficult to ensure the care that is required to restore it. All round you, there is a want of a thoughtful care for the repose, the tending, and the nursing which are so necessary for the sick and convalescent. I feel this more seriously now than ever, because the recent attack seems to have been more violent than its predecessors. The more severe, however, such attacks are, the more necessary it is that the patient,

during convalescence, should avoid for a greater length of time all disturbing agencies, and in everything he does be governed by prophylactic rules; for under certain circumstances it is possible for the physician to *prevent*, but under all it is difficult to *cure*. Heaven grant you may soon be once more in a state to send me cheering news of your health!

'At my age, and in my state of health, one naturally dwells more on the things of the other world than of this. Hopes and wishes have shrunk to a minimum. But it would always be a delightful fulfilment of my heart's desire to see my revered Prince once more on this side of time, and to be able to speak out all my thoughts to him. What might, perhaps, be discussed with advantage, were such a thing to happen, will not do in letters, which are always liable to be misconstrued, or taken up in a wrong sense. . . .

'You will now have your daughter with you. Scrutinise her closely, with fatherly but impartial and unprejudiced eyes, and let me know when opportunity serves what development her nature has taken. . . .

'The present condition of politics in Europe strongly resembles that of Pandora's box. I cannot help referring the present evil state of things to Nicholas I., and the consequent alliance of France with England. The internal condition of Austria seems to me very critical.

'From several quarters I hear that the Queen and all the Royal children are well. God grant this may long be so! May He give you health, strength, and a stout heart (*frischen Muth!*)'

The Princess Royal had arrived with her husband from Berlin in time to celebrate the Prince of Wales's birthday on the 9th of November. There could be no better restorative for the Prince's spirits than the sight of those who were so

dear to him. A few days later (16th November) he writes again to Baron Stockmar:—

'. . . It was very kind of you to write to me. Your friendly sympathy has done me a great deal of good. I am quite set up again, and willing to be most prudent; still the unfavourable conditions under which we live, and to which you allude, have no doubt their influence. . . .

'We find the Princess Royal looking extremely well, and in the highest spirits, infinitely lively, loving, and mentally active. In knowledge of the world, she has made great progress.

'In politics the aspect of affairs is very perplexed. Uncle Leopold has communicated, even to us, only this much of his interview with the Emperor, that he was much gratified by it. The same thing is also expressed on the other side; but wherein the gratification consisted, or how it was caused, we do not know.[2]

'The Emperor is in "a regular fix," and he of Austria, perhaps, on the eve of a general revolution. His plan of government has utterly broken down. It has resulted in political, military, and financial bankruptcy. But with misfortune wisdom has not come.

'What the Congress is to accomplish, I cannot divine. The Italians seem to have made up their minds not to take back their old rulers. We can lend no assistance to reinstate them by force. France is pledged not to do so, and Austria not to permit its being done.

'. . . To-day we have Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern here. To-morrow he starts for Portugal. Don Pedro cannot get over his bereavement.

'Windsor Castle, 16th November, 1859.'

[2] In writing in answer to a letter from King Leopold, giving an account of this interview, the Queen said: 'I was sure you would be pleased with the Emperor Napoleon. No one has the power which he has of pleasing and fascinating others.'

It was, indeed, not easy to see what the Congress was to accomplish, which the French Government was now urgently pressing England to support. Tuscany had, on the 3rd of September, formally tendered her annexation to Sardinia. On the 24th of the same month the Romagna had followed her example. To both the King of Sardinia had returned an answer, every word of which showed his approval of these steps towards what he called 'the constitution of a strong kingdom to defend the independence of Italy.' But dread of a war with Austria, and of embroiling himself with the Emperor of the French, who was bound by his engagements at Villafranca to oppose the annexation of the Duchies, and who at this time entertained different views as to the disposal of Central Italy, compelled Victor Emmanuel to decline the tenders so frankly made to him. All he did was to promise to represent the wishes, and to support the cause of the revolted provinces before the Great Powers. But, in such a state of things, what chance was there of any useful agreement being arrived at in Congress, or indeed of Austria or the Pope entering into a Congress at all?

At the end of October France became more urgent on the subject than ever, and it was again brought under the Queen's notice by Lord John Russell, who informed Her Majesty that Lord Palmerston and himself would advise the Cabinet to accede to the proposal. On the 28th of October the Queen wrote to Lord John Russell:—

'When the Queen last saw Lord John, both he and Lord Palmerston were adverse to going to Congress. This change of opinion seems to indicate how evenly balanced are the arguments on both sides. The Queen hopes that they will be well weighed and discussed (in the Cabinet) to-day, and she will withhold her judgment until she is informed of the result of the deliberation. It strikes her, that much must

depend upon what the other Powers intend to do. If they were all to join, and England stood aloof, the effect would be very detrimental to us, and again, if our refusal, although all others were ready to join, prevented its assembling, we should incur a heavy responsibility towards Europe and Italy in particular.

'This is why from the beginning the Queen was so anxious that we should make as few declarations as possible until the Peace should have been signed at Zürich, and should abstain from publicly prejudging the questions, which would then have to be considered on much safer data, and with a certain amount of experience.

'The danger of our going into Conference lies chiefly in the probability of our being intended by France to do that which she herself dreads to advocate, and to become the persecutors of Austria. The Confederation scheme is one which will prove so impracticable, and which Sardinia will at once put an end to by refusing to join the Confederation, that it would be very unwise for us to make the destruction of that scheme our special object, rendering *us* responsible for its failure. We can clearly not sanction or assist in a forcible reinstatement of the deposed Dukes, yet if all other Powers should recognise in principle that they have a right to be reinstated, our alone denying them this right would place us on very awkward ground.

'Again, it appears more than probable that the Dukes of Tuscany and Parma may be abandoned, although their government was a mild one, and had not been complained of before the war, whilst there will be great efforts made to replace the Pope in the Romagna, the misgovernment of which was the chief grievance, and the upholding of it the chief accusation against Austria. We can clearly be no parties to this.

'Before everything else, however, it will be necessary

thoroughly to consider what we have declared, in order to preserve perfect consistency in our conduct, without which it must become liable to much misrepresentation.'

The Cabinet decided to intimate their willingness to enter upon a Congress, subject to the condition that force should not, under any circumstances, be used to coerce the inhabitants of the revolted provinces. This decision was forthwith made known to the French Government, by whom the invitations to the other Powers to enter the Congress were to be addressed. The Queen's apprehension that the Emperor Napoleon was pressing for the Congress, in the hope of getting England to do what he himself dared not advocate, was confirmed by Lord Cowley about three weeks afterwards. He had had several opportunities of canvassing the question with the Emperor, when on a visit to him at Compiègne, from which he wrote (17th November) to Lord John Russell, that the Emperor was no nearer to seeing his way out of his dilemma than ever:—

'He admits very freely that he has made a great mistake, and he says that, could he have had an idea that the people of Central Italy would have been so little disposed to take back their sovereigns, he would have continued the war rather than have made peace as he did; but that believing what he was doing would satisfy them, that is, that they would not object to the restoration of their sovereigns with reformed institutions, he had entered into engagements with Austria from which he could not now recede. He looks, therefore, to the assembling of a Congress as opening a door of escape from his difficulties, he knows not how, neither does he much care. My impression is that he has no predilection whatever, or, if he has had any, there is none left, for the Archdukes—that personally he has no objection to the annexation of the Duchies to Sardinia, though his Government are dead against it, but that his real difficulty is the Romagna. He does not take part against the Pope, and yet he feels the glaring inconsistency of listening to the wishes of the

people of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, while he is obliged to turn a deaf ear to the far more poignant grievances of the Romagnese.'

In the same letter Lord Cowley refers to a scheme for the settlement of Central Italy, propounded to him by Prince Napoleon—no doubt with the knowledge of the Emperor—by which Parma and Modena should be given to Sardinia, and Tuscany be erected into a kingdom, to which the Romagna should afterwards be added. Let England and France agree upon this, said Prince Napoleon, and he was convinced there would be no difficulty in settling the Italian question. Tuscany, he felt sure, would never consent to be annexed to Sardinia. Her Majesty's opinion, when this letter was communicated to her, as it was next day (18th November), was very briefly given:—'The whole scheme,' she wrote to Lord John Russell, 'is the often attempted one, that England should take the chestnuts out of the fire, and assume the responsibility of drawing the Emperor Napoleon from his engagements to Austria and the Pope, whatever they may be, and of making proposals which, if they lead to war, we should be in honour bound to support by arms.'

Happily, the policy advocated by the Queen prevailed. The Emperor of the French was made to understand that England would not be dragged into war; and he had to turn his thoughts—with what results will afterwards be seen—to some other mode of cutting the knot of the difficulty he had created for himself. In the meanwhile the revolted States steadily adhered to their declared policy. Their leaders carried on the government in the name of the King of Sardinia. Lombardy was now secured to him by the Treaty of Zürich; and the Duchies and the Romagna, by showing, as they had done, for now nearly six months, that they could govern themselves, were daily causing their resolution to place themselves in the same position as Lombardy to be more and

more respected by the European Powers. After the Peace of Villafranca the Emperor Napoleon had said to Victor Emmanuel: 'Now we shall see what the Italians will do when left to themselves!'[3] They had shown, and were still further to show, that, with the pressure of Austria removed from them, as it had been by the results of the recent campaign, they might be left to work out their deliverance without the intervention of diplomacy.[4]

On the 3rd of December the visit of Prince Frederick William of Prussia and his Princess came to a close. It had given the greatest pleasure to the Queen and Prince. 'He has delighted us much,' the Prince wrote to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg; 'Vicky has developed greatly of late, and yet remained quite a child; of such indeed is the kingdom of Heaven.'

From the first of the Prince's letters to his daughter after her return to Berlin, we extract the following passages, written (7th December) from Osborne, to which the Court had gone the day before:—

'A Wednesday, a messenger, a letter to you, as if the dear visit had never been. Thus do the waves close in and run on their way, even though a stone cast into them has a moment before divided them with a splash. The observation is not new, but its truth nevertheless constantly strikes the

[3] '*Nous allons voir maintenant ce que les Italiens sauront faire tout seuls?*'—Mazade, *Vie de Cavour*, p. 282.

[4] Garibaldi's words, addressed (23rd November) to his companions in arms in Central Italy, when, at the request of Victor Emmanuel, he retired for a time from the prosecution of his schemes for an united Italy, were memorable. 'The time,' he said, 'will not last long; old diplomacy seems but little disposed to see things as they really are. Diplomacy still looks upon you as the handful of malcontents which she has been accustomed to despise. She does not know that in you there are the elements of a great nation, and that in your free and independent hearts germinate the seeds of a world-wide revolution, if our rights shall not be recognised, and people will not allow us to be masters in our own home.'

mind with a sensation of novelty, when inexorable time establishes its hold upon us anew.' (See *supra*, p. 302.)

'Your dear visit has left upon us the most delightful impression; you were well, full of life and freshness, and withal matured. I may therefore yield to the feeling, sweetest of all to my heart as your father, that you will be lastingly happy. In this feeling I wait without apprehension for what fate may bring, for that lies in God's hand—not ours.'

Next day (8th December) the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar: 'Since I wrote to you last, the dear visit of our Prussian children has come to an end.' Then, after speaking of them to the same effect as in the letter just cited, and acquainting him with some of the difficulties attending the negotiations with France as to the Italian question, the Prince continues:—

'. . . Throughout the country people think of nothing else but measures of protection against our Ally; Volunteer Corps are being formed in all the towns. The lawyers of the Temple go through regular drill. Lords Spencer, Abercorn, Elcho, &c., are put through their facings in Westminster Hall by gaslight in the same rank and file with shopkeepers. Close on 50,000 are already under arms.

'We have come here for a fortnight, where the change of life always does me good.

'I am very well, all but my stomach, which is decidedly *not* better; Victoria and the children are also well. Baby is the liveliest, cleverest child I have ever seen.

'The Prince of Wales is working hard at Oxford. Alfred is in Corfu, and has made the tour of Greece. Now farewell!'

Even at Osborne the work was so hard, that the Prince, writing a few days afterwards his weekly letter to his daughter,

apologises for its brevity thus: 'I am overwhelmed with papers, and can scarcely wrestle through them; therefore, even to you, I must say farewell so soon.' In the same letter, he mentions that he is stopped from his favourite recreation of planting 'by the constant transition from frost to rain. To-day it is bitterly cold and Siberian.' The rain was succeeded by a heavy fall of snow. Before leaving Osborne on the 21st for Windsor Castle, the Prince wrote the following playful letter to his daughter:—

'"*Der Thauwind heult an Itze's Strand*," sang Adolphe Bube, when he chanted the marching out of the Volunteers from Coburg in the year 1814. The same wind has been howling since yesterday evening; it makes your Mama somewhat anxious about the crossing, and has melted away the finest slide, which England or even Vectis ever had to show. We had had a fall of nine inches of snow, which lay for three days, and looked wonderfully beautiful. I have all but broken my arms against the trees and shrubs, in clearing them, with poles, of the snow, which would otherwise have wholly crushed the fine evergreens and threatened to make havoc of the cypresses especially. The slide I spoke of, which was used by young and old, extended from before my window down to the valley footpath. A splendid snowman was erected in front of the entrance "under the mount." A yellow carrot, selected by Colonel Keppel for the nonce, served for his nose, on his head he wore a hideous round hat, which Affie had left behind him, known in the family as "the cylinder," and which he had left in the little ones' hands for their amusement.

'Mr. Jolley [Prince Arthur's instructor], who was living with James Pristoe in Alverstone, was unable to appear in the morning, to Arthur's deep concern, but it may be, nevertheless, to his secret delight as well, having stuck fast in a

wreath of snow, that choked up the hollow way in the little thicket, as you go down to Alverstone. "*Durch diese hohle Gasse muss er kommen* [Come through this hollow way perforce he must!"] as Wilhelm Tell says of Gessler,[5] but he couldn't. These are the joys brought us by the snow, which you, in your ignorance, detest and despise; now it is gone and the world has a very dingy look.

'Windsor will appear to some people even duller than usual. Still in the background waits the Christmas festival. I dare not say a word to you about the gifts we have for you, because you would not then be surprised, like Professor Gries's wife, the "Frau Professorinn,"[6] when her husband had the wall press freshly painted by way of her Christmas gift.'

Christmas had again come round with its kindly interchange of gifts and greetings,—those pleasant surprises here alluded to by the Prince, in which the mutual affection which reigned throughout the circle of the Royal family found expression. It was ever a welcome season in the Royal home, and to none more welcome than the Prince, from the old and treasured associations it recalled, as well as from the delight he took in seeing the brightness of his own youth reflected in the young ardent faces of those, to whom it was the study of the Queen and himself to make the great Christian anniversary a festival of loving kindness and innocent mirth. At such a time distant kinsfolk and friends were sure to receive from the Prince evidence under his own hand of the constancy of his devotion. Foremost among these was always Baron Stockmar, to whom he wrote on the 29th of December:—

'I offer you my best wishes of the new year. You know that I wish you every conceivable blessing.

[5] Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, act iv. sc. 1.

[6] In Auerbach's charming story of that name.

'For myself, my wish is that I may see you in the course of the year. As the railway from Cologne to Mayence is now completed, excursions to and fro are rendered much more practicable. Herr von Löwenfels travelled from London to Coburg in thirty-one hours.

'We are quite well, all except my stomach, which is in a state truly pitiable, and is responsible for my waking early in the morning, and being unable to go to sleep again—"a shocking bore," as the popular phrase here says.

'The children are brisk and hearty, the Queen in the very best spirits—in itself a proof of excellent health. . . .

'In politics everything continues to pursue its confused course. You will have read the pamphlet, *Le Pape et le Congrès*. It is so reasonable, that it must do the Emperor the greatest harm, although and perhaps because he owns to being the father of it. . . .

'Poor Lady Granville is dying, and he is inconsolable. You will have read in the papers that our friend, Lord Holland, is dead.'

On the same day the Prince wrote to his stepmother, the Dowager Duchess of Coburg, now failing in health, and to whom this was to be his last Christmas greeting. By the following passage in this letter it may be seen how far from a solution the Italian question still seemed to him. Before the lapse of another year that solution was accomplished in the best possible way by the action of the nation itself in establishing its own independence:—

'We are tormented,' he wrote, 'with the Italian complications. There lies so much unrighteousness at the root of the whole business, in the frightful oppression of the Italians formerly, in the government of the Pope, and in the recent war against Austria, that, to whichever side we turn, we can descry no moral and legal solution of the difficulty.'

Of these grave matters the Prince could not fail to speak in writing to his daughter at Berlin. But his observations were seasoned with pleasant glimpses of the home delights, which, amid all his fatigues, kept his heart fresh and his spirits bright. To her he wrote (28th December):—'We have passed the pleasant season peacefully and cheerfully, and the children were and still are in raptures;' and then he tells her of the last amusing sayings of the little Princess Beatrice.

The last memorandum in his Diary for 1859 is, 'We danced in the New Year.' How heartily he who took so much delight in all old kindly usages was likely to do this may be imagined. 'The year is going, let it go!' As the church bells rang out its knell 'to the wild sky,' they could not but recall to the Prince many a grave remembrance of private sorrow and of public care with which its records were charged. But to what man in all England could such remembrances bring less reproach for duties imperfectly discharged than to him? Or who might echo more fervently than he the aspirations for human progress, which the words of his favourite poet have for ever associated with the glad salutation of these midnight bells to the coming year,—for who ever laboured more zealously to forward their fulfilment?

Ring out the feud of rich and poor,
Ring in redress to all mankind!
Ring out false pride in place and blood,
The civic slander and the spite;
Ring in the love of truth and right,
Ring in the common love of good!

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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